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history SCOTLAND

Vol.20 No.1 January/February 2020

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History Scotland was launched in October 2001 at the Royal Museum in Edinburgh by Professor Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal, who is now one of the magazine's patrons. It is backed by the Scottish history and archaeology professions with leading representatives from a variety of different disciplines on the Editorial Board.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life and the British Humanities Index

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FROM THE EDITOR

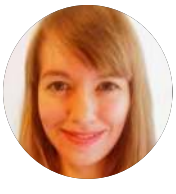
There are some fascinating accounts of disappearance, survival against the odds, and exploration in this first *History Scotland* of 2020. From tantalising fragments of evidence for the roots of the Pictish language, to the search for the wreck of the World War I battleship *Black Prince*, we cover centuries of history as we present the very latest research and thinking.

2020 sees two landmark anniversaries: the declaration of Arbroath 700th anniversary and the 300th anniversary of the birth of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. As well as reporting on events around the country linked to these celebrations over the coming months, we will be making our own contribution with an Arbroath-themed *History Scotland* Lecture 'For Glory, Riches and Honours:The Rocky Road to the Declaration of Arbroath' at the University of Dundee (see our website for details), plus a Jacobite-themed special issue later in the year.

Wishing you all the best for the festive season and the coming year from everyone at *History Scotland*.

Warm wishes
Rachel Bellerby
Editor, *History Scotland*

MEET THE CONTRIBUTORS



Dr Martha McGill is British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Warwick, specialising in early modern British intellectual, cultural and social history. She is also Reviews Editor of *History Scotland*.

On page 44, Martha explores changing ideas about ghosts from the middle ages onwards, looking at the relationships between Scots and specters..

Dr Guto Rhys holds a degree in Welsh, Medieval Scottish Studies and a PhD on the Pictish Language. He is fluent in Welsh, Breton, French and Spanish and publishes widely on aspects of Welsh literature.

On page 16, Guto explores the fragmentary evidence that suggests the Pictish language may be a relative of Old Welsh.

Kevin Brown is a freelance writer, designer and curator based in Glasgow. He curated exhibitions of Alasdair Gray's art at the Coningsby and Leyden art galleries in London in 2017.

Kevin's latest article, starting on page 34, reflects on six illustrations penned by Alasdair Gray to accompany his debut novel 'Lanark'.

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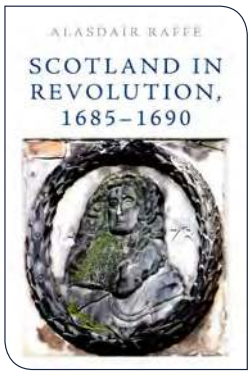

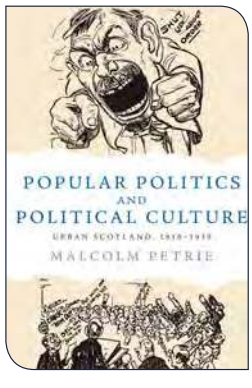

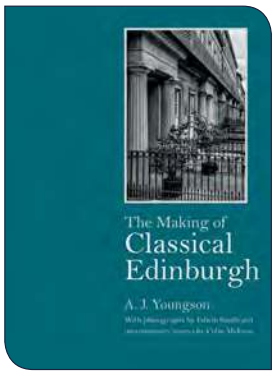

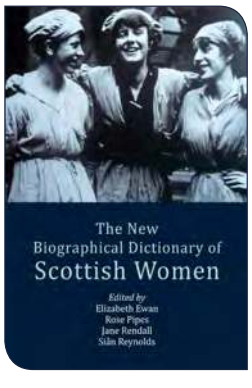

EDINBURGH University Press

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HISTORY NEWS

LANDMARK REDEVELOPMENT OF ABERDEEN ART GALLERY UNVEILED

Aberdeen Art Gallery has reopened to the public after a £34.6 million redevelopment project

Aberdeen Art Gallery is home to one of the finest collections in the UK, including works by Scottish artists, designers and makers such as Henry Raeburn, Joan Eardley, Samuel Peploe, Rachel McLean, Bill Gibb and James Cromar Watt, as well as nationally- and internationally-acclaimed artists including Barbara Hepworth, Francis Bacon, Tracey Emin and Claude Monet.

The redevelopment, designed by Hoskins Architects, has 'dramatically increased' the amount of display space for the collection, with the number of galleries increasing from eleven to nineteen, plus a further three galleries presenting a programme of regularly-changing special exhibitions. The number of items on display from the permanent collection has increased from 370 in 2015 to 1,080 in the redeveloped venue.

Website: www.aagm.co.uk

The Scottish witch hunt

A new podcast series featuring the latest academic research on the Scottish witch-hunt has been launched by BBC Radio Scotland

The six-part series, which aired from 31 October to 5 December, is available to download freely as a 'box set' at https://scot.sh/witch. Presented by Susan Morrison and Dr Louise Yeoman, the series features historians including Professor Julian Goodare, Dr Lizanne Henderson, Dr Mikki Brock and *History Scotland*'s reviews editor Dr Martha McGill.

Listeners can immerse themselves into this dark period in the country's history, through topics including the North Berwick witch trials, demonic possession and the execution of those accused of witchcraft.

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THE ALASDAIR ROSS PRIZE – WINNER ANNOUNCED

The winner of the inaugural Alasdair Ross Prize, established by the Scottish History Society in memory of the late Dr Alasdair Ross, former editor of *History Scotland*, has been announced

The winner is Rebecca Mason, a PhD student in the University of Glasgow, researching married women's access to law across the 17th century in Glasgow. Her PhD is funded by the UK-wide AHRC network 'Women Negotiating the Boundaries of Justice: Britain and Ireland, 1100-1750'.

Rebecca said: 'The Alasdair Ross Prize will allow me to gather further archival research into married women's interaction with the judicial process when asserting their property rights across Scotland between 1600 and 1707. My PhD thesis shows how married women featured prominently in Glasgow's burgh (town) and commissary (reformed church) courts across the 17th century, uncovering how Scottish wives thought about, argued over, and actively protected their land and goods'.

To find out more about the 2020 prize, which is open for applications until 31 March, visit: **https://scot.sh/rossprize**

A year in history

TAP TO WATCH

A look ahead to a year celebrating our lochs, rivers and coastline.

A round-up of some of the many events we can look forward to over the coming year

Year of Coasts and Waters

2020 is the national Year of Coasts and Waters. Keep a look out for events around the country tied into the country's lochs, rivers and coastline. Fife regatta (4-11 June) will start and finish in Largs, taking in various locations around the Clyde including Holy Loch Marina, Dunoon, Rothesay, Isle of Bute and Tighnabruaich, Argyll.

In September, Clydebuilt Festival brings the River Clyde to life and includes 'Castle to Crane', Scotland's biggest open water rowing race from Dumbarton castle to the Finnieston crane; an opening night spectacle; and music, craft, art and activities.
www.visitscotland.com

Declaration of Arbroath 700

2020 marks the 700th anniversary of the Declaration of Arbroath and to celebrate, the town of Arbroath will host a horse-led procession of over 500 people marching from Arbroath abbey to Arbroath harbour, with a re-enactment of the declaration of Arbroath sailing to France in 1320.
https://arbroath2020.com

History Scotland Lectures

Our popular Lectures event, held in association with the Centre for Scottish Culture, returns in April, with a talk by Dr Fiona Jane Watson titled 'For glory, riches and honours – the rocky road to the Declaration of Arbroath'. The event, chaired by Professor Michael Brown of University of St Andrews, takes place on 28 April at the University of Dundee. To book your free place, visit our website: https://scot.sh/hslecture4

National Galleries Scotland

National Galleries has two major exhibitions, beginning with *Ray Harryhausen: Titan of Cinema* (starts 23 May), marking the centenary of Harryhausen's birth. His collection will be showcased in its entirety.

Titian: Love, Desire, Death (opens 11 July) brings five of Titian's greatest works together for the first time since 1704 – a showcase of his large-scale mythological paintings.
www.nationalgalleries.org

National Museums Scotland

National Museums Scotland (NMS) will stage four exhibitions: *Tyrannosaurs*, (23 Jan to 4 May), *The Galloway Hoard: Viking-Age Treasure* (29 May to 18 October), *Little Black Dress* (26 June to 25 October) and *Legacies of Empire* (April 2020 to April 2021).

Billed as 'the most comprehensive exhibition ever mounted on tyrannosaurs', the first NMS exhibition of 2020 promises to bring the latest discoveries in paleontology to life.
www.nms.ac.uk

National Records of Scotland

To celebrate the 700th anniversary of the Declaration of Arbroath, National Records of Scotland (NRS), in partnership with National Museums Scotland, will put the document on public display in the National Museum of Scotland, from 27 March to 26 April.

The NRS public talks programme examines historical themes, subjects and how the records in the national archives of Scotland are used. 2020 will feature a series of talks about the Declaration of Arbroath, covering the context of its creation, its purpose and later life. There will also be talks that delve into the diverse archives at NRS. Keep up to date on the website: https://scot.sh/NRS or Twitter @NatRecordsScot.

Early in January, NRS will make available on the ScotlandsPeople website images of statutory birth records for 1919, marriages for 1944 and deaths for 1969.
www.nrscotland.gov.uk

Scottish Genealogy Society

The Scottish Genealogy Society will be running a programme of talks and workshops throughout the year, including a talk titled 'Understanding DNA' from genetic genealogy expert Michelle Leonard (March, exact date to be confirmed). The talks take place at the Augustine United Church Centre, on George IV Bridge, Edinburgh and start at 7.30pm. Non-members are welcome to come along. *www.scotsgenealogy.com*

Keep up to date with events around the country on our website: www.historyscotland.com/events

PRINCE LEOPOLD

of Saxe-Coburg's entry into Edinburgh, 1819

Dr Clarisse Godard Desmarest looks back at a royal visit to Edinburgh by Prince Leopold, showing how the event not only laid the foundations for a visit by George IV in 1822, but also allowed the New Town to host a major public event for the first time

Leopold pictured in 1856, as Belgium's first king. The death of Leopold's wife and son in 1817 caused an outpouring of public sympathy – both would have been Britain's future monarchs

In 1767, James Craig's design for Edinburgh New Town began construction. The New Town project was so successful that new buildings quickly spread in every direction except south, because the views towards the Old Town were protected. To develop the New Town eastwards, Princes Street was extended towards Calton Hill, avoiding collision with it by sweeping round its southerly face, towards Regent Road. This extension meant spanning the deep gorge at Old Calton, which was done by creating a colossal single-arch bridge – Regent bridge, named in honour of the future George IV – one of Scotland's truly monumental-scale stone structures.

Archibald Elliot (1760-1823), arguably Scotland's most prestigious architect of the moment, designed this new piece of neo-Classical townscape – Waterloo Place. His bridge was given lofty Roman screens instead of parapets. One is inscribed 'Commenced in the ever-memorable year 1815…' (an allusion to the Battle of Waterloo), and the other, 'Opened August 18th 1819 for the entry of his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg'. So the construction dates are clear. But who was Prince Leopold and why is his name inscribed there so reverentially?

Prince Leopold (1790-1865) was born in the Ehrenburg palace, Coburg, in modern Germany, a son of Prince Francis Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. After service in the Russian army, in 1814 he met Princess Charlotte (1796-1817), daughter of the Prince Regent (from 1820, George IV), in London. The two married in 1816, but the following November, Charlotte died, after producing a stillborn son. As her father's only child, Charlotte would have been Britain's future monarch, as would her son. There was a national outburst of grief over the episode, and huge sympathy for the doubly-bereaved prince.

North to Edinburgh

A tour of parts of the UK was decided upon, and from August to September 1819, Prince Leopold toured Scotland. As the Regent Bridge inscription shows, he reached the capital on 18 August, entering by Regent Road and the new road along from the Calton Hill. The newly-finished Regent Bridge was thus inaugurated by him. Leopold was the first British prince Scotland had seen since the rival princes of 1746 (Charles Edward Stuart and William Augustus, duke of Cumberland), so it was considered an extraordinarily important event for Edinburgh to host him, and he received the freedom of the city. It had been decided that the prince would stay in the New Town, and, on the day of his arrival, he and his suite arrived at the London hotel (also known as Oman's hotel) in St Andrew's Street.

Earlier, he had been welcomed by an immense crowd of spectators assembled on the Calton Hill, at the Regent Bridge and in Princes Street and St Andrew's Street. The prince wore the sash of the Order of the Garter on this occasion – the knighthood he received the same year he married Princess Charlotte. He was accompanied by the lord provost up to the castle, which fired a royal salute on their reaching the gate, and then he went to Holyroodhouse and the college. Several important individuals were guests at the dinner which the prince hosted at his lodgings in the London hotel. Local patriotism and pride was displayed by the national anthem of 'God save the King' being played in the theatre, with the following additional verse added in honour of the visit of this distinguished guest:

Unite! Our voices raise,
Loud sing our Prince's praise;
Long may'st thou live.
Thy noble virtues are,
Matchless beyond compare;
To Scotia welcome from afar,
In our hearts to reign.

Poet-laureate Robert Southey, who made an extensive tour of Scotland in 1819 in company with engineer Thomas Telford, reached the Scots capital the day before the arrival of the prince, and called upon William Blackwood who gave him a copy of Sir Walter Scott's *Peter's Letters* which he had just published, and on antiquarian David Laing, the first secretary of the Bannatyne club. In his *Journal of a Tour in Scotland* in 1819, Southey noted the excitement Leopold's visit had aroused:

Prince Leopold arrived this day, and Edinburgh was all alive. He went to the theatre, and the whole family of Tag, Rag, and Bobtail (more numerous than any of the Macs and all the Campbells) were swarming in Princes Street till midnight.

The Theatre Royal (demolished in 1860 to make way for the General Post Office) on Shakespeare Square, was just across from Adam's register office. Prince Leopold also visited St George's church in Charlotte Square, St John's chapel in Princes Street and Holyroodhouse.

Highlands tour

The 1819 *Blackwood's Magazine* carried a story of Leopold's Scottish visit which placed him in Deeside, with James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, as a master of ceremonies (rather as Scott was to be for the royal visit of 1822). Here already was seen for royal entertainment the romantic imagery and features that were to be played out in the great pageants that were to follow, notably for George IV's Edinburgh visit of 1822, and more particularly at Taymouth in 1842 for Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's visit.

Leopold's entertainment in a highland tent, in the presence of Lord Huntly, displayed a hierarchical clan system with clan elites and clan tenantry ('all plaided and plumed in their tartan array') presented as clan armies (including '200 Highlanders in the garb of old Gaul'), tartans, pipers, including Lord Fife's personal piper ('John of Sky[e]'), a standard bearer, deer-hunting, songs with toasts galore. There was even a tale of one of the attendees, a certain Mr Tims, insisting on singing 'Scots wha hae' to the prince, but this initiative was frowned upon by the party, and the evening was concluded with tunes including 'Farewell to Lochaber'. John of Skye afterwards became Scott's piper.

Shooting parties in the highlands, including at Moy hall, connect with the romanticism of places which featured in the warfare of 1746. Quartering at Moy, the laird of Macintosh's house, Prince Charles Edward Stuart had been protected by the chief of the clan and his wife against Lord Loudoun, his regiment and some independent highland companies in the 'Rout of Moy' – a skirmish in which the government forces were seen off, and the famous piper Donald Ban MacCrimmon killed (recorded versions of the event vary). Prince Leopold's tour in Scotland included Elgin, and also Nairn, where an arch of flowers, surmounted by a thistle, was erected round the door of the local inn, in his honour, and where there is today a Leopold Street.

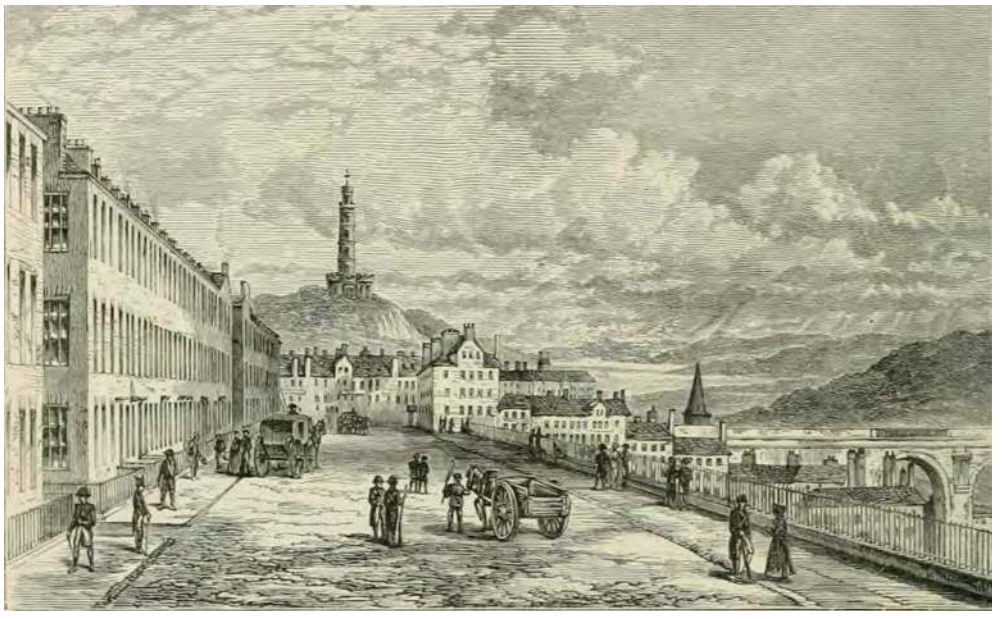
Return to Edinburgh

Prince Leopold returned south to Edinburgh, to the London hotel, in September 1819, from Kennet house in Clackmannanshire, which was the final stage of his northern tour. He was accompanied by Baron Hardenbrook, Sir Robert Gardiner and – a friend from his Coburg days – Dr (later Baron) Stockmar. On this second visit to Edinburgh, the prince was again formally waited upon by the provost and the civic authorities. Amongst the party who gathered at the theatre were the earl of Lauderdale, Lord Robert Kerr, General Hope and – the developer of Coates, in the west end – Sir Patrick Walker. The prince visited the Register Office, and then proceeded to the Calton Hill. This visit was recorded as follows:

After inspecting the Jail, his Royal Highness walked along the north-west side of the hill to the Observatory, and from thence to Nelson's Monument, where an elegant collation was prepared. His Royal Highness ascended to the top, and appeared to survey the beautiful scenery with much interest.

The area was then a point of tourist interest, and the Calton Hill within the urban landscape had recently become charged with local and national significance in the context of the growing British empire and military success. The monument to Admiral Nelson, whose foundation stone, after a delay, was laid in 1807, opened in 1816; and in 1819, a committee for the erection of a national monument to the fallen of the French wars discussed the most appropriate location for such a monument in Edinburgh – options which included Calton Hill, the place finally decided upon. Enjoyment of panoramic views from the hill

Regent Bridge and the inscription for the prince's visit



An early 19th-century view of Edinburgh, looking towards the new Nelson's monument on Calton Hill

coincided with the growing interest in the picturesque; and this aesthetic was popularised in the late 18th century by Robert Barker (inventor, in Edinburgh, of the panorama), and also by romantic artist J.M.W. Turner as seen in *Edinburgh from Calton Hill* and *Heriot's Hospital*, both 1819. Turner's illustrations were commissioned by Sir Walter Scott to accompany his descriptions of the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*.

Visible from the Calton Hill from the north, Leopold Place was designed by architect William Henry Playfair and named in honour of the prince. That development, terminating at the west end of London Road, was to provide prestigious housing and formed part of Playfair's 1819 plan for the expansion of Edinburgh New Town towards Leith – the Third New Town. The plan, if fully executed, would have meant a displacement of the town's centre of gravity north of the historic centre. It included circular terraces, squares and crescents, embellished and terminated by commemorative monuments and key structures of architectural merit, all on the line of Leith Walk, and all intended to improve this part of the city and connect it with the harbour, with a grand entrance, or promenade.

In September 1819, and as George IV was to likewise do in 1822, Leopold's visit ended with a visit and dinner at Hopetoun house. From there, Leopold returned to his hotel before heading south to Carlisle and then proceed to Lowther castle in Westmorland (George IV sailed from Port Edgar, beside Hopetoun house). With Edinburgh behind him, and on his way towards Selkirk, Leopold stopped for an impromptu visit at Abbotsford, where Scott and his wife were already enjoying the company of his friend, the illustrator James Skene of Rubislaw, and his lady. Scott knew Leopold from Paris, and so the unexpected visit of the prince meant that the reception at Abbotsford was rather informal (a visit to the picturesque ruins of nearby Melrose abbey had also been an option). This Abbotsford visit occurred shortly before Scott's publication of *Ivanhoe*, and in the context of the protests in the UK, and in Edinburgh, by 'Radicals' (people with democratic ideals).

Conclusion

As for Prince Leopold, he retained a place close to the British monarchy, as uncle and mentor to Queen Victoria, and the chief promoter of Victoria's marriage to his kinsman, Albert, the future prince. Leopold's satisfaction with his tour of Scotland translated into his intention, which he announced to Scott, to purchase a shooting cottage in Scotland, and to return within two years. Leopold instead went on to become, from 1830, King Leopold I of the new state of Belgium. His Scottish trip had tested the environment in preparation for George IV's visit, and many of the staged theatricals devised by Scott for that latter visit were derived from what had been already provided for Leopold three years earlier, and which would help seduce Victoria and Prince Albert into acquiring their own highland residence in the 1840s – clan tartans, 'armies', bagpipes, loyalty and hierarchy.

The Edinburgh bridge on which his name is inscribed is an important marker because it shows that monuments in the New Town could now take centre stage in official celebrations with royal involvement. Possibly it was the successful alignment of the 1819 royal visit with the opening of Regent Bridge that inspired Edinburgh's elites to organise the laying of the foundation stone for the national monument of Scotland to coincide with the 1822 royal visit.

However, on that occasion, the same royal association with Edinburgh's monumental architecture was not to be. But the connection between Leopold and Edinburgh was to re-emerge many years later – his monument in the park at Laeken, Brussels, is a vast Gothic canopy covering his statue. Designed by Louis de Curte in 1880, it is a clear derivative of the formula whose prototype is the Scott monument (1838-46) in Edinburgh by George Meikle Kemp, and perhaps also of the Scott monument's most famous derivative, the Albert memorial (1872) in London, designed by Sir Gilbert George Scott.

Dr Clarisse Godard Desmarest is a lecturer in British History at the University of Picardie Jules Verne (Amiens) and a fellow of the Institut Universitaire de France.

Monument to Prince Leopold at Laeken, Brussels. Note the architectural similarities to the Scott monument in Edinburgh

TARBAT MEDIEVAL BURIALS PROJECT

A striking facial reconstruction forms the centrepiece of the launch of the Tarbat medieval burials project, analysing five 15th-century male burials that include a unique six-headed burial

The historic site around St Colman's church, Portmahomack, in Ross-shire, was excavated between 1994 and 2007 by the Tarbat discovery programme. Now known internationally as the first Pictish monastery to be excavated, the results of excavations also found a wealth of evidence relating to medieval Portmahomack. Excavation of the interior of St Colman's church in 1997 in advance of its conversion into the Tarbat Discovery Centre, revealed 88 burials dating from the 13th to 16th centuries, while the remains of a smithy were found in the field adjacent. The Tarbat Discovery Centre was opened in 1999 by HRH the duke of Rothesay, and has since become an award-winning museum which continues to present the results of the excavation to a wide audience twenty years on.

The Tarbat medieval burials project is a collaborative project involving specialists in archaeological science who are analysing five male burials thought to date to the 15th century. The project, supported by grants from Historic Environment Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, includes facial reconstruction, radiocarbon dating, stable isotope analysis to understand diet and origin, and ancient DNA analysis to understand genetic heritage and explore possible familial relationships.

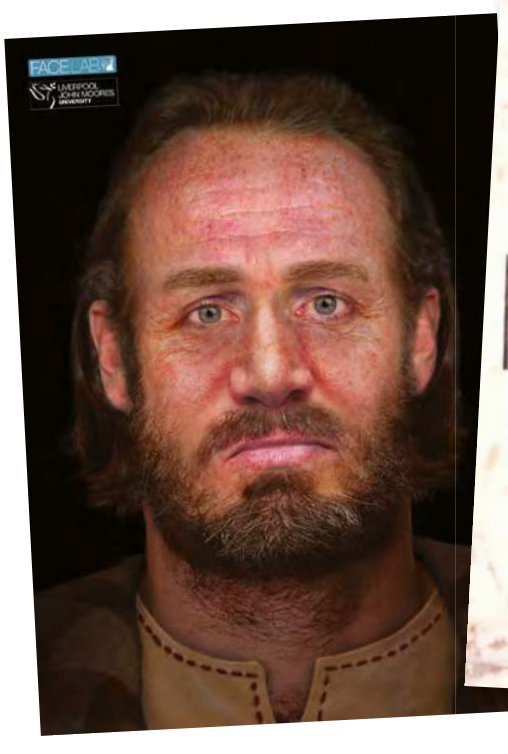
The five burials include a unique 'six-headed burial' belonging to two men, one of whom died violently by the sword, and both of whom were accompanied by four extra skulls. This burial is thought to be contemporary with an iron-working smithy which was at work in the field next to St Colman's church in the 15th century. The smithy was involved in the upkeep and production of bladed weapons, probably swords and other arms. The face of one of the men in the six-headed grave has been reconstructed by specialists at the FaceLab, Liverpool John Moores University.

Another burial in the group belonged to a man who had been buried in a wooden coffin wearing clothes. The remains of both his leather ankle boots and woollen leg hose were preserved; they represent a very rare survival and are the only known surviving example from the medieval period.

A spokesperson from the Tarbat Historic Trust/Tarbat Discovery Centre said: 'The Tarbat medieval burials project, based at Tarbat Discovery Centre, highlights what has already been achieved and continues to reap rewards for archaeologists all over the world. It is incredible to think how important the Tarbat Discovery Centre is in the world of archaeology.

'At a time when this museum, along with all the other small highland museums, are struggling to compete with newer, more centralised projects for direct funding from government, this project is putting this area back in the spotlight on a national and international level. People know us for our Pictish monastery, but these burials are from the later medieval period. They were excavated over a decade ago, but as research progresses they continue to reveal their stories and help us to see them as real flesh and blood people of their time. As a museum, we very much depend on income from visitors, so we very much hope that this exciting project will attract more people to visit the centre'.

Tarbat Discovery Centre is open from April to October and opening hours can be found on the website: www.tarbat-discovery.co.uk



Reconstruction of the face of one of the men who was part of a 'six-headed' burial in the 15th century

A pair of late medieval leather boots and woollen hose preserved with one of the burials

TAP TO WATCH

A summary of week one of the dig at Tarbert Castle

Our Castle of Kings

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY DIG

Clockwise from top:
Volunteers enjoy the atmosphere on site
Local school children get involved in the project
Volunteers at work on the site

Robert McPhail of Tarbert Castle Trust presents the results of a long-term project to protect and preserve a medieval royal stronghold that was once one of the country's largest castles

The royal castle of Tarbert, on the southern shore of east Loch Tarbert, Argyll, is a nationally important scheduled monument with royal connections, mostly famously, Robert the Bruce and later James IV.

Our community in Argyll has opened up access, cleared the site of alien vegetation, interpreted the ruins and successfully developed a management plan to care for the castle. The tower house at the site was surrounded by a security fence and was in danger of complete collapse; the Rural Development Fund granted £750,000 to save this and stonework was consolidated by contractors over a three-year period. This has taken some fourteen years and a very extensive volunteer input to preserve the monument and create a major visitor attraction in the area.

In 2013, with Heritage Lottery Fund assistance, we commissioned a desktop study and non-invasive survey of the ruins with the intention of progressing to an archaeological dig. This work consisted of a systematic survey recording all the features and earthworks in the castle grounds, a laser survey of the castle and geophysical examination around the castle remains. After a considerable fund-raising effort and working with our archaeologist Roderick Regan and Kilmartin Museum education unit, a project design was prepared and scheduled monument consent granted.

The 2019 dig

In 2019 the Castle of Kings community archaeology dig was commenced during May and June, in excellent weather, with 52 volunteers from a wide area and over 200

young people, all of whom received basic training and experience of archaeological dig good practice.

The excavation work uncovered some exciting discoveries, including the floors of the castle within the inner bailey along with a well-preserved medieval oven. We also established the position of the entrance or doorway to the north west tower from the outer bailey, the door surround using red sandstone.

Arguably the most important discovery was the uncovering of the main western entrance to the castle through reveals on each side of the entrance with door checks and portcullis slots, and the builders using dressed red sandstone. This surprised everyone, as the position of this entranceway had never before been suggested. Previous recorded surveys by MacGibbon and Ross in the 19th century and RCAHMS in the 1970s mentioned only a possible east side entrance between the drum towers along with a possible postern gate at the north west corner tower. While our dig proved the latter inaccurate, and despite the former remaining unproven, it now seems highly likely that there is an opposite entrance at the east for those arriving at the castle by sea.

Overturning previous assumptions

The discovery of the western entrance has changed the whole reading of the castle layout and operation, and shows how the castle was accessed by a ramp on its north west side as well as demonstrating why Bruce built an oddly-placed tower in his curtain wall so near to the inner bailey. Now that we have found this, it of course seems rather obvious. How else could a structure requiring thousands of tons of stone be built and when completed as a major castle complex be easily serviced from the landward west side?

The work has also suggested the previous understanding of the chronology of the castle – that the inner bailey is earlier work than the outer bailey – needs to be revised, as our work shown that the north wall of the inner bailey was a later insertion between the walls of the outer bailey, although in all probability both inner and outer bailey were likely conceived as one overall scheme.

Part of the project design for the excavation was the examination of the area to the south of the castle to investigate whether we could find any evidence for remains of the medieval burgh that was postulated to exist in this area. Here again the excavation was successful, revealing not only medieval deposits across this area but also a short length of the preserved walls of a medieval building. Beyond the medieval period the area to the south of the castle became open fields and appear to have been utilised in this way until the modern period.

Within the castle itself and probably dating to at least the 17th century was a suite of buildings that occupied the north west wing of the inner bailey, while the area north of this outside the inner bailey was used as a field.

Many artefacts were recovered during the excavation work and these are currently being processed and recorded by Roddy Regan, our excavation director, whose final report is programmed for publication in early 2020.

Visitor numbers to the site during the dig exceeded expectations and kept our team busy describing progress and answering questions. We have received many requests to try and do more and those not already friends or members of the Trust have signed up to be kept informed.

Using photographic displays in Tarbert Life (the village's new heritage facility), facebook posts, website updates and local newspaper reports, we have kept people informed and considerable interest has been generated. Medieval pottery and other finds will in due course be displayed locally and the community is currently looking at proposals to re-orientate the current public access and interpretation to acknowledge the major entrance.

Website: www.tarbertcastle.com

From top
The dig overturned previous assumptions about the castle layout
The previously unknown castle entrance is revealed
Relaxing at base camp

Wilkhouse dig reveals insights into LIFE BEFORE THE Sutherland clearances

New insights into highland life immediately before the Sutherland clearances of the early 19th century, have recently been published following archaeological investigations at the site of a drovers' inn

An artist's impression of drovers arriving at Wilkhouse in the 18th century

The investigations at Wilkhouse in Sutherland, led by GUARD Archaeology, were centred upon an 18th-century drovers' inn and its neighbouring buildings. The evidence reveals a place pivotal to the local economy, where the continuity of settlement within the highlands was in the process of developing into modernity before being cut short by the clearances instigated by the Sutherland estate.

The inn was a statement of modernity and affluence when built in the 18th century; it was constructed with harled stones, lime mortar bonding, glass windows, double chimneys and a slate roof. The level of investment suggests that there was ample passing trade to warrant the spend. This was very much in contrast to other drovers' inns in Scotland, which were often a longhouse built of drystone with wooden shuttered windows, low walls, central hearths set on the floor and a turf or thatched roof.

However, the process of change also brought about its demise when the nearby roadway was moved up the hillside and out of sight. Competition from newer inns in Brora and Helmsdale would have been damaging, and underlying these challenges lay the demands of the Sutherland estate. The Kintradwell estate, which had again been subsumed into Sutherland ownership after a period in the hands of the Gordons of Carroll, was cleared of its people in 1819. The inn was not spared and by the coming of the railway in 1870 had sunk into obscurity and was little more than a ruin.

Norse and Pictish occupation

GUARD Archaeologist Warren Bailie, who directed the excavation, explained how finds at the site help explain the inn's history: 'We revealed evidence of inhabitation here over a long period. The stone foundations of an earlier structure were found under the north-east gable of the inn, while the coin assemblage testifies to the long-term use of the drove road at least as far back as the late 16th century. Earlier antiquarian finds nearby indicate occupation in the Norse, Pictish and Iron Age periods. The excavation also found a buried Neolithic occupation layer below one of the inn's outbuildings'.

Clues from coins

The new archaeological evidence found on site weaves a rich picture of life in the years leading up to 1819. A curious inverted cross was carved into one of the hearth stones and may have been intended to deter witches flying down the chimney. Shards of 'firing' or 'shot' glass evoke a picture of toasts being exchanged after a meal or drinking session, with the noise of the glasses being slammed down onto a table echoing through the inn. The majority of coins relate to the last phase of Wilkhouse operating as an inn. Most are halfpennies of the reigns of George II and George III, although there is also a Parys Mine token, valued at one penny, dated 1788. The distribution of finds indicate

that many coins were dropped in an enclosure at the rear, which might have been the area for unsaddling.

Four earlier coins suggest that the site was occupied in the 17th century and perhaps before. The earliest coin is a billon hardhead (two pence Scots) of James VI, dated 1588, which seems to have been dropped in the 1590s. There are then two 'turners', one a Scottish copper turner of the 1640s, also worth two pence Scots, and the second a French royal issue 'double tournois', dated 1628, of Louis XIII. The probability is that both circulated through much of the 17th century. The fourth coin is from the reign of Charles II, dated 1681, and is an Irish copper halfpenny.

Personal items recovered during the excavation including pins, buckles, strap fittings, thimbles and a part of a comb add colour to the domestic context of the buildings. Two military buttons of the Sutherland Fencibles, one possibly belonging to an officer, suggest that the inn was a meeting place for a company of soldiers in the period 1793 to 1801, when Britain was being defended against the possibility of French invasion by militia.

Dr Donald Adamson, whose reserch into drove roads instigated the excavation, gave an insight into what life might have been like at the inn: 'A revealing description of Wilkhouse Inn in 1802 written by the Reverend Donald Sage gives a picture of what was lost when the inn was forcibly closed in the name of improvement':

We stopped for refreshment at an inn below Kintradwell, called Wilk-house, which stood close by the shore. This Highland hostelry, with its host Robert Gordon and his bustling, talkative wife, were closely associated with my early years, comprehending those of my attendance at school and college. The parlour, the general rendezvous for all comers of every sort and size, had two windows, one in front and another in the gable, and the floor of the room had, according to the prevailing code of cleanliness, about half an inch of sand upon it in lieu of carpeting. As we alighted before the door we were received by Robert 'Wilkhouse' or 'Rob tighe na faochaig' as he was usually called, with many bows indicative of welcome, whilst his bustling helpmeet repeated the same protestations of welcome on our crossing the threshold. We dined heartily on cold meat, eggs, new cheese, and milk. 'Tam', our attendant, was not forgotten; his pedestrian exercise had given him a keen appetite and it was abundantly satisfied.

'Thus, we meet "Rob of the House of the Whelks" as he was known in the district', continued Donald. 'Alongside him was his wife Kirsty Fraser, who may have been the daughter of the previous innkeeper, William Fraser. Donald Sage's meal might have been representative of standard fare at Wilkhouse. Milk, cheese and eggs supplementing cuts of mutton and beef, although not necessarily the most prestigious cuts. However, the archaeological evidence reveals that the diet appears to have been more varied, with rabbits, birds (including auks) and fish on the menu. In addition, marine shellfish and notably whelks were eaten'.

The trade patterns which had sustained Wilkhouse inn up to and through the Napoleonic wars, with its cattle stance to one side, were about to suffer a convulsive shift as 'improvement' took a grip in the northern highlands. An agricultural economy based on subsistence farming carried on by a network of sub-tenants, which relied on the export of black cattle as the cash crop, was about to be replaced by huge sheep farms, which were let directly to the highest bidders without consideration for family ties. In the case of Sutherland, this involved the movement of most of the people from the interior of the county to the coast, to the Lowlands and abroad. The cattle drovers were replaced by shepherds, the lands were cleared, the buildings forcibly abandoned, roofs removed and the people scattered.

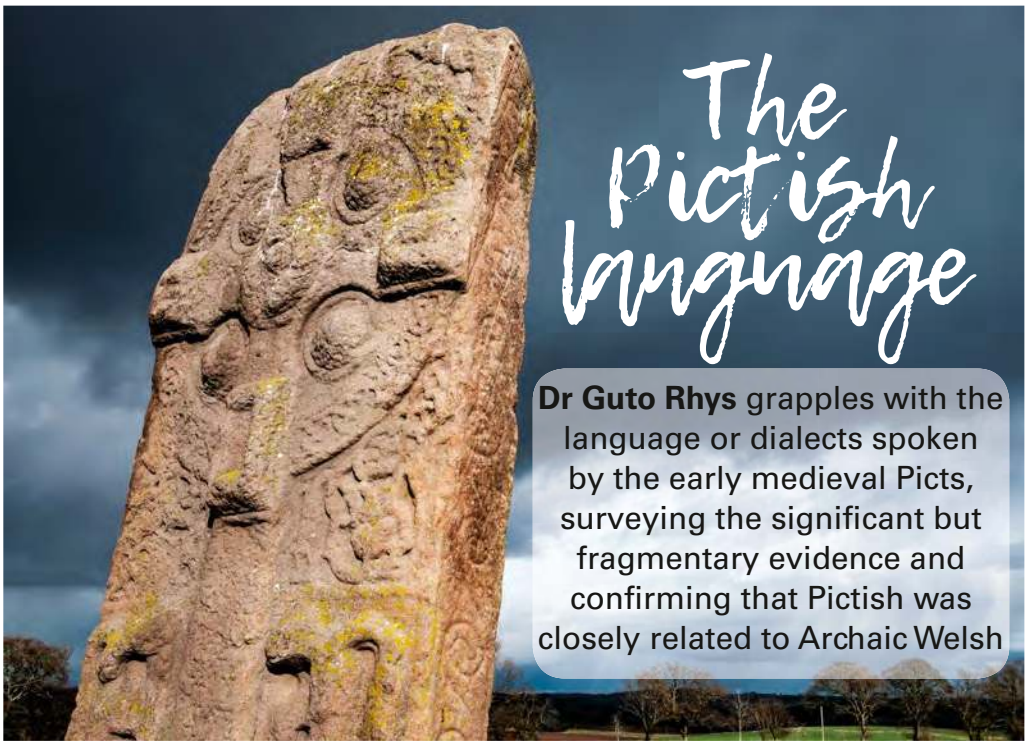
The excavation was undertaken in 2017 for Dr Donald Adamson who had completed a study on droving routes in the Scottish highlands. The excavation involved collaboration between Clyne Heritage Society, the University of Glasgow and GUARD Archaeology, and provided training for early career archaeologists and also volunteer opportunities for members of the local and wider community.

ARO37: Wilkhouse: An Archaeological Innvestigation by Donald Adamson and Warren Bailie is freely available to download from the ARO website: http://archaeologyreportsonline.com

Excavation finds

The fireplace and stone-flagged floor of the inn

Inverted cross carved onto one of the orthostats framing the fireplace. The reason it was carved upside down may have been to ward away witches tempted to fly down the chimney



The Pictish language

Dr Guto Rhys grapples with the language or dialects spoken by the early medieval Picts, surveying the significant but fragmentary evidence and confirming that Pictish was closely related to Archaic Welsh

Since the late 16th century there has been a continuous debate regarding the origin, affinities and features of the language of the northerly people(s) known to us as Picts. Over the past four centuries or so, a medley of scholars and enthusiasts have postulated that they spoke a form of Germanic, Gaelic, Phoenician, Basque and even Finnish. It has also been argued that two languages were in use, one a variant of Gaulish, with a non-Indo-European language current in the north and north-west. Modern linguists and historians would concur that their dialects were closely related to Archaic Welsh or Common Brythonic, the ancestor of Welsh, Breton, Cornish and Cumbric. But the degree of closeness is a matter of great uncertainty due to the limited evidence, which is overwhelmingly onomastic (that is, proper names). Added to this there is a smaller number of scholars who would hold that a pre-Indo-European language survived in some way alongside this Celtic form. In many cases, especially in the 19th century, such views represented not the outcome of dedicated linguistic study but the fantasy or ethnic preferences of partial researchers easily convinced by their own preconceptions and prejudices.

Cultural ownership of the Picts was generally seen as ownership of the Scottish past; therefore the stakes were high. If the Picts were Germanic in language, then the claims of the troublesome Gaels to be natives could be dismissed. On the other hand, if they spoke Gaelic, this provided the Gaels with robust grounds for claiming to be the 'first inhabitants' of Scotland. Such binary opinions would not find much favour today with scholars much more aware that cultural identities are not set in stone and that languages shift and change continuously.

Perceptions of Picts themselves have varied equally wildly, with the public sometimes imagining savage war-painted warriors and warrior-babes relentlessly attacking the civilised and Romanised areas south of Hadrian's wall, the last of the free, nobly (but savagely) resisting the unrelenting expansion of decadent Rome and intolerant Anglo-Saxons, unsullied and uncontaminated in their mountain fastnesses. More sober and informed investigators will see an image of the powerful and enigmatic northerly early-medieval kingdoms whose clergy exchanged letters with the Venerable Bede and whose masons carved some of the most intricate and mesmerising christian crosses of post-Roman Europe – a people influenced by Rome and later very much part of the evolving christian world. Contributing to their unnecessarily exotic image has been the legacy of puzzling symbol-stones, purported matrilineal succession, and about 30 (as yet) undeciphered ogham alphabet inscriptions, which have been subjected to very serious scholarly scrutiny.

Intricately carved cross-slab at Aberlemno

Before embarking on what we know of the language, it is vital that there be some clarification of what we mean by the term 'the Pictish language', an issue which might at first glance seem unnecessary, but which is in fact rather tricky. All languages vary over time, space and society, so it is highly improbable that there ever was one discrete, homogeneous and invariable (Brittonic-)Pictish language spoken uniformly over all of Pictland. It is also unlikely that the *Sprachraum* of this language remained stable over the many centuries during which it was spoken. The language of Caledonia, attested in Greek and Roman manuscript sources, appears very different to that of Pictland in the 8th and 9th centuries, before its extinction, as Picts adopted Scottish Gaelic. The language of the Roman period, attested only in place- and personal names, shows no significant divergences from highly inflected Common Celtic. The language of the 9th-century evidences many phonetic and morphological changes shared with Brythonic. We must bear in mind that dialects of Brythonic (Archaic Welsh) were spoken from Edinburgh, southwards through England to western Brittany in the 6th century, with English spoken only by smallish pagan kingdoms in eastern Britain.

Even locating Pictland, the regions under the dominance of Pictish kings, is not a straightforward issue, and in any case there is seldom a reciprocal one-to-one match between a kingdom and a language. Such thinking owes more to 19th-century ideas about nation-states than to objective inquiries into the not insignificant remaining evidence. More often than not monarchs rule, temporarily at least, over more than one people, and languages often transcend the highly mobile boundaries of kingdoms. We are, perhaps, fortunate in that the great Northumbrian scholar Bede informed us in 731 in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* that Picts ruled to the north of the Forth-Clyde divide and that Pictish, along with Brythonic (Old Welsh), (Old) English and Gaelic, was one of the four spoken languages of Britain of his time. Some caution is necessary here, as Bede may simply

be referring to the form spoken by the dominant elite of the Werteras, the kingdom which had recently come to dominate much of Britain north of the Forth – a kingdom whose power was probably centred on the Inverness/Moray area. Bede's antipathy towards Britons and his esteem for Picts is well-known, arguably providing him with motivation to exaggerate differences between the two.

It is also quite possible that his picture may only represent the political, not the linguistic, situation at the beginning of the 8th century. Backdating this piece of fairly solid evidence into the Roman period is perilous, and modern toponymists have been unable to place any linguistics isoglosses between Pictish and Brittonic along the Forth, and the place-name evidence appears to indicate a far more gradual change from 'Brittonic' south of the Antonine wall to 'Pictish' to the north. Bede may well also have been thinking here in the ideological framework whereby different 'nations' were imagined to have different origins and different languages. Adomnán in his *Vita Sancti Columbae*, written about 700 in the island monastery of Iona, notes that the Old Gaelic-speaking saint had to employ an interpreter on two separate occasions when conversing with Picts about 565, and this alone is good evidence that it was not a variant of Old Gaelic.

If one is intent on determining the Pictish ethnic presence one may consider the genuinely enigmatic symbol-stones, which are located mainly in the fertile eastern lowlands from Fife to Shetland, with a handful of outliers in the Hebrides. These are pairs of symbols carved on stone and other objects, representing some everyday objects but more often abstract shapes whose meaning is hotly debated and lost to us. However, employing these as proxy for language is perilous as one could also imagine these as being useful in transcending linguistic differences. It is possible that they are name-statements of some form, perhaps even representing specific personal names, but one may alternatively compare with heraldic symbols employed by the medieval nobility of a great many different linguistic backgrounds. Caution is in order here.

The undeciphered ogham stones have a similar distribution, thus hinting at some degree of shared culture identity in these areas. Place-names are of limited value in this respect as the early toponymy of the northern and western coasts and the islands was practically obliterated by Norse, introduced (probably violently) from about the early 9th century. There is also a later Gaelic stratum which may well have contributed. The earlier linguistic Pictishness of these areas cannot therefore be argued with any confidence.

What then of the actual evidence? For this brief overview I will limit myself to early medieval Pictish, the form of the language attested in our sources from about the late 6th century to perhaps the 10th. There is a significant corpus of names from the Roman period, primarily preserved in the *Geography* of the Greek polymath Ptolemy. As noted, this limited corpus of place- and group-names provides no evidence that the language of pre-Pictland differed much from Common Celtic. I use the term 'pre-Pictland' to emphasise the fact that we cannot assume that the Pictland which emerged in the 6th-7th centuries is an uncomplicated later manifestation of some far earlier political reality. I will not here enter into the thorny issue of whether the Pictish of the 7th century is a direct descendant of the language attested by Ptolemy in c.150 or whether it owed more to developments in its Brythonic neighbour to the south.

The historiography of Pictish

The first scholar to investigate the Pictish language was the great Scottish polymath George Buchanan in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582). He was an adept humanist linguist and may very well have benefitted from a command of Gaelic. He was closely followed by the English historian William Camden in his *Britannia* (1586). Both independently conclude, on different evidence, that Pictish must have been some form of Brythonic or Welsh. These informed overviews were the result of critically scouring the available evidence, mainly place-names. This early scholarly consensus was not to endure and by the mid-18th century reasonable and informed arguments were often eclipsed by partisan squabbles over the ownership

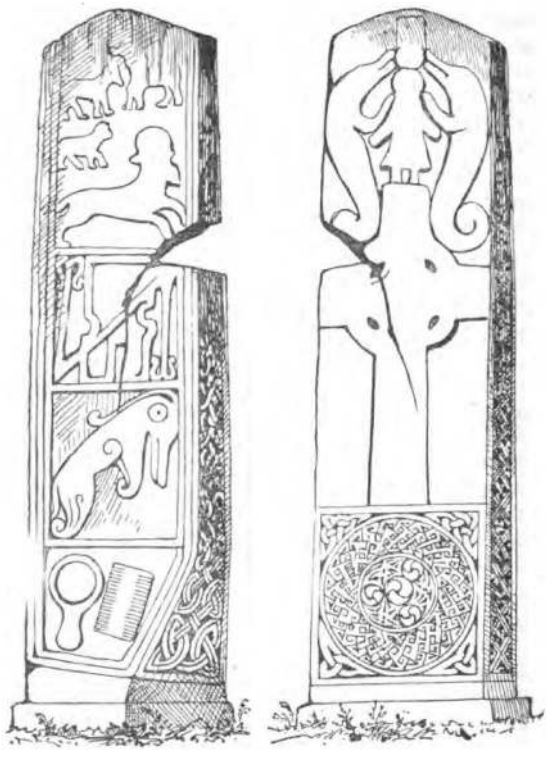
The true picture of a Pictish woman *Pict*. Theodor de Bry. 1590 engraving after John White. Such images owed more to colonialist contact with native Americans than to an understanding of the sources

of the Scottish past. Picts become pressed into service as mouthpieces for contemporaneous and tendentious political agendas.

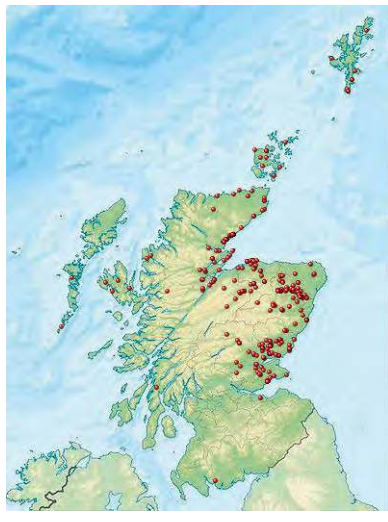
Thus, the precious evidence (today greatly enhanced) was often vigorously massaged into supporting the views that Pictish was Gothic (Germanic) or Gaelic. Both parties, in this tumultuous period, had much to lose in terms of who was seen as able to claim the Pictish past – the people then seen as the founding nation of Scotland. First occupation was seen as providing legitimacy for the extirpation of Gaelic and, by the opposing party, for its survival. In this battle over the ghosts of the Picts, objectivity was often willingly sacrificed.

The highpoint of the Saxonist (or Teutonist) view of Picts was in the works of the 'Celtophobe' antiquarian John Pinkerton (1758-1826), who forcefully asserted that Pictish was an early form of English, thus the problematic Gaels could be labelled as non-indigenous Irish upstarts with no historical right to be in Scotland. There may be some truth in the claim that Scottish Gaelic expanded from somewhere in Ireland, making the trivial crossing to 'Scotland' (Argyll) sometime in the 6th century or so. But very much the same can be said for the expansion of the English language into what is now Scotland, which we can probably date to the 7th century. It is much of a muchness. It is also equally possible that Old Gaelic simply evolved *in situ* in Argyll much as it did in Ireland.

Unsurprisingly, there were irate Gaelic reactions to Pinkerton's



19th-century drawing of the Maiden Stone at Inverurie. Note the z-rod and Pictish beast



Pictish stone distribution across Scotland

prejudice, and some, like James Macpherson (of Ossianic fame) produced evidence that Gaelic had preceded the Scots language in eastern Scotland. This did not of course prove that Pictish was Gaelic, simply that there was a Gaelic-speaking interlude between Pictish and Scots. Even the great Scottish historian William Forbes Skene argued in the 19th century that Pictish was Gaelic, but this partisan approach owed much to his wish to defend and elevate native Gaelic culture in the face of the horrific persecution suffered by Gaels after the defeat of the Jacobites in the battle of Culloden in 1746. His limited understanding of linguistics and relevant languages must also carry a good part of the blame.

During the 19th century the understanding of historical linguistics blossomed from an antiquarian hobby into a full-blown academic discipline. A great many studies of relevant fields were published, and a host of scholarly Celtic and Scottish journals appeared, providing a platform for scholars to publicise their increasingly sophisticated views on the language. Importantly, the ogham inscriptions in what had been Pictland came to the attention of scholars. Ogham is basically an alphabetic script consisting of sets of 1-5 notches inscribed (or written) across or above or below a stem-line. This writing system was invented in Ireland, no later than the 4th century or so and perhaps as early as the 2nd or 3rd. It was adopted later by Picts, 4th to 5th century, and employed up to about the 9th. At the end of the 19th century the great Celtic scholar Sir John Rhys (1840-1915), the first holder of the chair of Celtic at Oxford, produced a number of articles arguing that these were in some unknown pre-Celtic language, and he even developed a concise grammar. Soon afterwards at the turn of the 20th century his ideas were robustly demolished and he gracefully accepted his error. However, these often fragmentary surviving inscriptions, now representing a corpus of some 30 or so texts over about six 'letters', continue to resist fully satisfactory interpretations and provide the main motivation for belief in the continuation, in Pictland, of a pre-Celtic language. It should be noted however that many do seem to attest Pictish/Brittonic personal names such as NEHHTON (Necton, pronounced /nexton/). It is probably unwise to assume that these are robust evidence that, in addition to Latin, christian Picts also preserved some other earlier language for certain ceremonial purposes. These inscriptions do occur on overtly christian crosses, and they occur in areas with placenames which differ little form Archaic Welsh.

A turning point came in 1926 when the Gaelic scholar W.J. Watson published his monumental *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*. Here he discussed in detail some hundreds of place-names in eastern Scotland which can only be satisfactorily explained by comparison with Brythonic (Archaic/ Old Welsh), a near neighbour of Pictish which survived until the 12th century or so in the resilient Brythonic kingdom of Strathclyde. So similar did he perceive Pictish and Brythonic he even discussed both in the same chapter, making no hint that they were distinct languages. From this point on it was impossible to objectively deny the existence of a rather Welsh–looking language stretching from Fife to the Inverness area, in a period preceding the Gaelicisation of most of 'Scotland'.

Added to this was a growing understanding of the Pictish king-lists (see below) attested in several versions derived from an original composed about the turn of the 10th century. These contain a good number of personal-names which are very similar to those of the Brythonic-speaking groups. Importantly, one version (the Poppleton manuscript) seems to have largely avoided the Gaelicisation undergone by others.

Slowly, Gaelic scholars had come to appreciate that some of the features that distinguished Scottish Gaelic from Irish, especially some words, could only be explained as originating from this Brythonic-Pictish language. That Pictish was some form of Welsh was discussed in detail in 1946 by the great Irish scholar T. F. O'Rahilly in his controversial *Early Irish History and Mythology*. However, this consensus was soon to be rocked and eclipsed by the views of the eminent Celtic scholar Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, who held the chair of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh.

While Jackson did reaffirm the proximity of Pictish to Old Welsh in his 1955 article 'The Pictish Language', he also developed the 'two Pictishes hypothesis'. Here he argued that the Picts of the north and west spoke a pre-Celtic non-Indo-European language, while the rest spoke a form of Brythonic Gaulish maintaining the use of the earlier form for ceremonial contexts, as late as the early medieval period. The main motivation for this argument, apart from an archaeological model that has now been superseded, was the difficulty in interpreting the ogham inscriptions. Added support for this view was perceived in some rather curious personal names (e.g.

Canutulachama, *Bllieiblituth*) in the early sections of the Pictish king-lists. We now know these to be later, retrospective, post-Pictish insertions which are unhistorical and very probably garbled. The former may represent something like *Cano Tulach Aman* corresponding to personal and place-names known from other sources.

Jackson's view dominated the field until recently when scholars like Alfred Smyth (1984) and Katherine Forsyth (1997) came to issue strong challenges to non-Indo-European Pictish, underlining that it was largely inspired by abandoned archaeological models. Nevertheless, we are still faced with inscriptions that, despite numerous hints at Celtic, cannot be fully explained by means of such languages. In fact, a good many inscriptions contain impossible consonantal clusters which lead some, including myself, to speculate that the key may lie in how Picts adapted or used this non-indigenous script for their own use. Much progress has also been made recently in the field of place-names and criticism of the relevant texts, and the current consensus among most academics is that Pictish was some form of 'Old Welsh', perhaps its most northerly reflex, as Kenneth Jackson had suggested some decades ago.

Reconstructing the Pictish language

The above is a rather cursory trawl through the lengthy historiography of the Pictish language, the full version of which I hope to publish soon. This leaves us asking the question of what we actually know about the Pictish language, and it is to this issue I would now like to turn so that we may put some meat on the bare bones. At the outset it must be stressed that our evidence, despite being fairly abundant, is very restricted and fragmentary. It consists overwhelmingly of personal and place names and some influences on Scottish Gaelic. We do not have a single long text, or at least none that we can interpret. There is nothing resembling a Pictish Rosetta stone, unfortunately.

As noted, the four most significant sources of evidence for the particular features of Pictish are:

1. Place-names.
2. Personal names.
3. Influence on Gaelic.
4. Inscriptions.

These all have their own particular challenges which I will discuss below.

Place-name evidence

Pictish place-names are fairly abundant from the Dornoch Firth southwards to Fife. The challenge here is that almost all of the earliest attestations post-date the demise of Pictish by some centuries. Some first occur in 19th-century OS maps. Most of the medieval attestations occur in charters penned by Anglo-Norman or Scotto-Norman scribes. Such names have often sojourned in Gaelic before they even reached the pen and vellum of medieval clerics. In a great many cases they have subsequently been mediated for some centuries through Scots. It is rather like trying to view a colourful medieval icon through a glass prism behind a dirty and broken stained glass window. However, the good thing about place-names is that on the whole they (unlike personal names) are not mobile; they indicate local usage, which can often be corroborated by the topography.

One of the most obviously Brythonic items is *aber*, 'estuary', 'confluence', whose meaning is extrapolated not only from the locations of such names but also from Brythonic cognates. So Welsh Aberystwyth, Abergele and Aberdaron can be compared with Aberdeen, Arbroath (earlier *Aberbrothoc*), and Applecross (*Aporcrosan*) facing Skye. There are perhaps as many as 50 other attestations, but these are crying out for a dedicated study. The partial Gaelic cognate is *inbher* (Inver-), as in *Inbhir Nis* (Inverness), which in many cases could have replaced an original Pictish *Aber*-. One note of caution to be sounded here is that, as Simon Taylor has demonstrated, a number of Pictish topographical words continued in use after the shift to Gaelic meaning that we cannot confidently determine whether some placenames were coined in Pictish or later in Gaelic.

Another item is **brun* with which we can compare Welsh *bryn* 'a hill' as in Cameron (Fife; *Cambrun* 1264 x 1288) apparently cam+bryn, 'crooked hill'. Also *Burnturk* (Fife; Brenturk, c. 1245) for bryn+twrc, 'boar-hill'. We also seem to have names which correspond to Welsh *coed*, 'a wood', as in the several 'Keith' names. We can compare Dalfouper (Angus; *Dulquhober* 1511), Coupar Angus (Perthshire) and Cupar (Fife) with Welsh *cymer*, 'a confluence' (< *kom-ber), which is also attested in Kemper (Quimper) in Brittany.

We have a number of attestations of **dol*, 'a water-meadow', in Dull (Perthshire) and Dallas (Moray). A common name-element is **mig*, 'a marsh', cognate with Welsh *mign*, and seen in Meigle (Perthshire) and Strathmiglo (Fife). A common name for ridge-like hills is **ogel*. This is a reflex of Celtic *Okelon*, 'ridge', and interestingly this is only attested in Britain between the Mounth and the Lammermuir hills to the south-east of Edinburgh, an area straddling the supposed linguistic and political boundary between Picts and Britons. In its Gaelicised manifestation this also occurs as the name of the stunning range of hills called the Ochil(s). It also occurs as the name of several long hills, in the form *Ogle*.

Pant is the Welsh for a 'hollow' and is seen in Panbride (+Bridget) and Panmure (+ *mawr*, 'big') both in Angus. The former demonstrates that the element was productive in a period when Picts were adopting Gaelic religious cults. The Welsh for 'head' is *pen*, and this is seen in Pennan (Aberdeenshire), a prominent headland. A 'wood' or a 'grove' is *perth* in Welsh, and this appears in Perth itself, and in the former parish name Pert (Angus). One Welsh word for 'shining' is *pefr* (pronounced pevr) and this is attested in three Pictish river-names: Peffer (Ross-shire), Innerpeffray (Perthshire) and Inverpeffer (Angus). It also occurs in two stream names in the Lothians.

There appear to be a number of words which were adopted into Gaelic but survive in place-names alone. *Caer* in Welsh means a 'fort' and this is seen in Carpow (Perthshire) and Kirkcaldy (Fife). Another word for a defensive site in Welsh is *cardden*, (probably pronounced /karden/ in Pictland), and this is seen in names such as Kincardine (many), where the first element is evidently Gaelic *ceann*, 'head'. This may have replaced a native Pictish **penn*. It is also attested in Pluscarden. There is also *gronn* which refers to marshes, but this seems not to

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have survived in Brythonic. Similarly, **pett* appears to correspond to Welsh *peth* (< **pett-*), 'thing, part of'. This word was also adopted into Latin, probably in Gaul, and is the origin of English 'piece'. The meaning in Gaelic seems to have evolved to 'part of an estate', and scholars have so far counted about 400 of these. It usually appears in place-names as *Pit-*, one well-known example being Pitlochry (Perthshire). It used to be thought that this was the emblematic Pictish place-name element *par excellence*, but it is now seen as representing much of early Gaelic Alba ('Scotland'), as the defining element seems to always be Gaelic, rather than Pictish. It therefore informs us of the Gaeldom of about the 11th century, not of 7th-century Pictland.

Personal names

The second category comprises personal names. Our best source for these is a manuscript now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, commonly known as the 'Poppleton manuscript' and compiled in the mid-14th century in England. This represents the least Gaelicised version of the numerous variants of the 'king-lists', but even this has not fully escaped mediation by Gaels, adding to the challenges of interpretation. Such names, in slightly modified forms, are *Talarg*, *Drest*, *Galan*, *Gartnait*, *Bridei*, *Taran*, *Nechton*, *Mailcon*, *Unust*, *Uurgust* and *Ciniod*. Some of these are exactly paralleled in Brythonic, others are readily open to interpretation as such.

Cross-side of the Stone of Nigg, Easter Ross

I have standardised these names a little so reference to the original manuscripts would be required for a full study. *Talarg* may represent *tal+arg*, 'brow+white'. *Drest* (& Drostan) may attest a Celtic root **dru-*, meaning 'oak, or 'certainty'. *Galan* probably evidences **gal*, 'power' (also seen in 'Donald' < Gaelic *Domhnall*). *Gartnait* contains *gart*, to be compared with Irish *gart*, 'generous', 'noble'. *Bridei* may attest a cognate of Irish *brude*, 'to repel', with a common Brythonic (agentive) suffix *–ei*, well-attested in Welsh. *Taran* corresponds to Welsh *taran*, 'a thunderbolt', but this could well represent a reflex of the Celtic theonym *Taranis*, noted by Caesar. This is significant because the Irish form *torann* attests a different vowel. *Nechton* may attest a cognate of Irish *necht*, 'clean', 'pure', or Welsh Neithon. *Mailcon* is also attested in Old Welsh; today it would be written as 'Maelgwn' and means 'lord+hound'. Uuen appears to correspond to modern Welsh Owain, possibly from Latin *Eugenius* (Eugene). *Unust* (as attested in the Durham *Liber Vitae*) corresponds to Old Welsh *Unust* (modern Welsh *Unwst*), 'one+might', Urgust 'great+might'. The *Ur* 'over, super' is the same element as in the name *Vortigern* (Modern Welsh *Gwrtheyrn*).

There is a scattering of names in other sources such as the Irish annals and the above-mentioned *Life of Columba* (*c.*700), but Gaels generally replace Pictish names with their own cognates when available. There are 12th-century Gaelic notes in a 10th-century Aberdeenshire gospel book known as *The Book of Deer*, and these contain a number of names which seem to be survivals from Pictish. One name is attested in three variants – *Morgainn*, *Morgunn* and *Morcunt*. These strongly suggest a cognate of Old Welsh *Morcant*, which is today realised as Morgan. What is interesting about these names is how different they are to the Irish cognates. *Oengus* and *Forgus* contrast with Pictish *Unust* and *Uurgust*, the Pictish forms displaying a number of significant Brythonic features such as the retention of final '-st' and initial 'w-'. This is but a selection, and significant further research is required.

In contrast to place-names, personal names are highly mobile, one need only look at how many Welsh, Gaelic and French names are common among English-speakers today. We do not know where the original king-list was compiled, but one possibility is at the important monastery at Abernethy (to the south of Perth). This is only a day or so on horseback from the Brythonic Lothians and perhaps a week away from the Pictish power-base of the Werteras in the Inverness region. There are also indications that this southerly area may have been christianised early by Britons, perhaps in the mid-6th century, and one might speculate that the monastery of Abernethy might have absorbed somewhat Brythonic scribal practices. This is but to open the crack of the door to some of the difficulties presented by such medieval manuscripts.

Pictish and Gaelic

The third significant source of evidence is features of Scottish Gaelic which differ from Old Irish (also known as Old Gaelic), its parent language. Many of these are most easily explained as due to Pictish influence, in that as Picts adopted Gaelic (between the 8th and the 10th centuries, probably) they acquired it imperfectly, much as many Welsh features survive in the English of the eastern Welsh valleys. There may be some grammatical influences upon Gaelic but focusing on anything but loanwords would, for reasons of space and complexity, be unrealistic. We may imagine Pictland becoming fairly rapidly Gaelicised in the 10th century, even though there is evidence of significant Gaelic influence much earlier. One appealing but very simplified scenario is that Norse attacks decimated the already partially Gaelicised Pictish elite, who resorted to Gaelic aid. There is much evidence, such as the adoption of ogham for previous deep Gaelic influence in Pictland. Also many Kill- names, from Gaelic 'cill-' (church) point in the

same direction. 8th-century Pictish kings such Bridei and Nechton sons of Dargart seem to have been born of Dargart, a Gaelic king of Dál Riata. While Picts abandoned Pictish and became Gaels they did not abandon many useful Pictish words.

The most obvious of these are *bad*, *monadh*, *preas* and *dìleab*, none of which are attested in Old Irish, the mother-language of both modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic. *Bad*, 'a clump of trees', can be compared with Breton *bod(enn)* of the same meaning. *Monadh*, 'moorland', relates to Welsh *mynydd*, 'mountain, high ground', and this is seen in The Mounth, the central mountainous massif of Scotland. *Preas* compares with Welsh *prys* both meaning 'bush' or a 'small wood'. *Dìleab*, 'legacy', seems not to be attested in Brythonic but the *–leab*, the root of the word, can be traced to a Proto-Indo-European word **likw-*, 'to leave', which can also be seen in relic (ultimately) from Latin. All these are very similar to the Brythonic words, even though three do have short vowels where Brythonic has long ones, and this may be very significant in that this feature in Brythonic is, simplistically put, due to the Latin-speakers of the post-imperial period adopting Brittonic and speaking it with a somewhat Latinate accent. Interesting as well is *monadh* because this, along with Welsh *mynydd*, evidences a very particular sound-change (/j/ > /ð/) which occurred in Brythonic about the 4th century, both being derived from Celtic *mon□jo-.

Inscriptional evidence

There is a further source of evidence of some importance – inscriptions. Almost all of these, including photographs of the objects themselves and transcriptions, can be seen on the CANMORE website (https://canmore.org.uk/).

There are a handful of Latin script inscriptions. One is neatly chiselled onto a panel on an impressive stone cross known as the Drosten Stone (St Vigeans 1) and reads:

DROSTEN .:
IPEUORET
ETTFOR
CUS

Drosten is evidently a Pictish personal-name, also attested, without the suffix, as *Drest* and Drust, the latter the usual Gaelic form. *Forcus* seems to curiously represent a Gaelic name Forgus. Or perhaps a rendering of a Pictish *Uurgust*. *Uoret* may correspond to the Old Welsh noun guoret, 'protection', or alternatively it could be a personal name. The meaning of IPE is uncertain.

Another interesting inscription was found on a silver-gilt scabbard-chape found as part of the 'St. Ninian's Isle treasure', a hoard of possibly ecclesiastical silver-ware discovered on one of the Shetland isles in 1958. This is usually dated to the late 8th century. The matrix language is Latin but it contains the Pictish male personal name RESAD, which may well represent a continuation of a name attested in early Gaul as *Ressatus*. The first section may correspond to the modern Welsh name Rhys, meaning 'running, attacking'.

By far the most problematic, or enigmatic, category of evidence is the ogham inscriptions. We have perhaps thirty which are long enough to be of any linguistic value. Most are weathered or broken and none, apart from one (Scoonie) which may represent the personal 'Ethernan' (< Latin *Aeternus*), can at present be satisfactorily interpreted by means of Brittonic, not even those whose readings are clear. Dating is problematic, but somewhere between the 5th and the 10th century can be established with some confidence. As noted above, these have provided the main motivation for the 'non-Indo-European Pictish' hypothesis. While some might hold that they represent some obscure non-Celtic language others would argue that we simply have not yet found the key to interpreting them. About seven contain the form MAQQ, most probably the Gaelic for 'son (of)', but given our lack of understanding of this script in a Pictish context it is arguable that that Picts might be using the letters QQ for 'p', which Gaelic lacked. Therefore, this could represent Brittonic 'map' (whose eroded reflex is seen in surnames such as Parry, Price, Powell etc. < ap Harri, ap Rhys, ap Hywel).

MAQQOTALLUORRH |
N?HHTVROBBACC?NNEVV
(Formaston)

A number attest clearly Pictish names such as Neithon/Nechton (NEHHTON(N), Lunnasting) and probably Talarg (TALLUORRH, Formaston). Another may attest the word for 'made' (URACCT, Burrian), corresponding to modern Welsh *gwnaeth*. This is not the place to try to resolve conundrums which have exercised the minds of some of the greatest Celticists over the past 120 years, but what might be of interest is to simply note two in the hope that readers here may become intrigued and start to investigate the copious literature.

As noted, there are many challenges to interpreting the ogham inscriptions, one being that as each letter represents between one and five strokes it can be challenging to determine which letter or *flesc* (branch) underlies a worn or truncated section, leading to multiple possible readings. With Latin inscriptions further south, or ogham

Chape from the St Ninian's Isle Treasure. The inscription appears to be upside down as it was intended for the bearer of the scabbard (as viewed from above) rather than for others

In contrast to place names, personal names are highly mobile, one need only look at how many Welsh, Gaelic and French names are common among English-speakers today

Drosten Stone

in Ireland, this is far less of a problem largely because Latin and Old Irish are very well-attested languages. With the Pictish ogham inscriptions we cannot resort to copious texts and modern dictionaries. To illustrate this I will note two further ogham inscriptions.

The first is from the broch of Burrian, on the island of North Ronaldsay in Orkney:

I(t/d/o/u/?)(/e/b)IR(/a)RANN(u/) (./ RRACT(k/e/m/?)EVVC><RROCCS

In this transcription, the lower-case letters within brackets represent the range of possible readings of individual ogham letters. It is very possible that the last letters represent the word for 'cross', loaned from Latin *crux*. More speculatively it has been suggested that the /URRACT section corresponds to Brythonic 'wracht' (made) a word suitable for noting the patron of such a cross. Such a technical transcription may seem baffling at first but it serves to demonstrate how tricky it is to establish a reading.

The second example is from Lunnasting:

xTTxCUH)(TTS : AH) (HHTTʃNNN : HCCVVEVV : NEHHTONs+

This convincingly attests the personal name Nechton but the rest, despite its clear word-spacing, remains problematic. Before succumbing to the temptation to categorise these as evidence for the late survival of a pre-Celtic language we need to carefully consider several points. Uncertainty arises from fragmentary or damaged letters, characters for which we don't know the value, the use of an orthographic system or systems we don't fully understand. We must also bear in mind that these are non-formulaic texts in a poorly attested language.

Conclusion

Pictish is therefore a *Trümmersprache* ('debris-language') a partially attested language form and this must always be borne in mind when trying to categorise it. Place and personal names demonstrate that its phonology (sound system) and lexicon (vocabulary) greatly resembled Brythonic (Old Welsh), its southerly neighbour beyond the Forth-Clyde divide. This is confirmed by the loanwords in Scottish Gaelic. However, the lack of long texts prevents us from exploring aspects of language such as grammar or vocabulary in any meaningful depth.

Brythonic seems to have developed quite rapidly in Britain in the post-Roman centuries (400-600) when the Anglo-Saxons were largely non-christian 'barbarian' warlords restricted to limited areas in the east of the island. In this period the large Roman (or Romano-British) population, who spoke Late Spoken Latin (more akin to Occitan or Catalan or Spanish than Classical Latin) seem to have been swamped by the majority (Romanised) Britons and adopted their language, albeit quite imperfectly. In doing so they simplified many aspects of the language, as adult language learners are wont to do. The outcome was Brythonic. There are some indications that Pictish, having been outwith direct Roman control, may not have undergone such changes. There are, however, many indications (which will be discussed in detail elsewhere) that Pictish was evolving on very similar lines to Brythonic. In any case the restricted evidence demands that we keep an open mind as to whether Pictish was a truly distinct language to Brythonic (as Bede stated) or perhaps simply the most northerly dialect or continuation of it.

Dr Guto Rhys holds a degree in Welsh, Medieval Scottish Studies (MPhil) and a PhD on the Pictish Language. He is fluent in Welsh, Breton, French and Spanish and publishes widely on aspects of Welsh literature and language and Brittonic placenames.

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10 MINUTES ON

...THE STORMING OF DUNDEE, 1651

History Scotland's consultant editor, **Dr Allan Kennedy**, looks at the capture of Dundee by English troops in 1651, one of the defining moments in the Cromwellian conquest of Scotland

George Monck, 1st duke of Albemarle (1608-70)

The execution of King Charles I on the orders of the English parliament in January 1649 placed England and Scotland on-course for war. Although they had clashed with their king repeatedly, often violently, over the course of his 24-year reign, the Scots had never intended to depose him, much less abolish monarchy itself. Accordingly, they immediately proclaimed Charles's son, now Charles II, king of Scotland, England and Ireland, and invited him to come to Scotland to take up his inheritance, which he did in the summer of 1650.

The newly-minted English republic could not tolerate this challenge from the north, and so it resolved to invade, subdue and ultimately conquer Scotland. Scottish resistance, hamstrung by rampant factionalism, war-weariness after the civil wars of the 1640s, and interference from a powerful, dogmatic church, proved ineffectual. Disastrous defeats at the battles of Dunbar (1650) and Inverkeithing (1651) opened up the entirety of south and central Scotland to English occupation, and one by one the major towns – Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling – fell to the invaders.

The final hold-out was Dundee, and it was to here that the committee of estates (Scotland's main body of central government in this period) retreated in late August. It was joined by a number of refugees from the already-conquered parts of the country, who were resolved to make the town – 'fortifeit both be sea and land', in the words of the diarist John Nicoll – the site of their last stand. But as the English general, George Monck, approached, the committee fled deeper inland, eventually being captured by English forces at Alyth on 24 August.

Two days later, Monck formally summoned Dundee to surrender. The governor, Sir Robert Lumsdaine, responded with the spirited suggestion that Monck himself should lay down arms and come to fight for the king. Rebuffed, the English made preparations for a siege, encircling the burgh and shipping in heavy ordinance from Perth. Simultaneously, they worked to complete Dundee's isolation; nearby Broughty castle was secured on 31 August, one day after St Andrews, also facing imminent English assault, surrendered.

By 30 August, the English artillery, consisting of three large cannon and two mortars, was in place and ready to batter the town walls, although they only managed a brief assault before rain forced them to fall quiet throughout all of the next day. The bombardment recommenced at around 4am on 1 September, and although the Dundonians replied in kind, subjecting the English to a steady stream of both gunfire and invective, the artillery proved remorseless. By around 11 o'clock, with significant breaches having been punched at various points in the wall, the attackers began their final offensive, pouring a force around 1,000-strong into the town.

Scottish resistance was fierce, but short-lived. After about 30 minutes of hand-to-hand combat, the defenders had been driven back to the market square, where they finally surrendered. Monck then unleashed his soldiers to plunder. For the rest of the day, they rampaged throughout Dundee, looting gold, jewellery, weapons and merchant goods to value, so it was said, of £200,000 – more than £20 million by today's standards. By the time order was restored, about 500 Scots were in English custody, and many others, including Governor Lumsdain, were dead, although later estimates of more 1,000 killed were possibly exaggerated.

The fall of Dundee, combined with the capture of the committee of estates, effectively broke the back of whatever Scottish resistance remained. Two days later, Charles II's army, which had earlier taken the last, desperate gamble of invading England, was crushed at the battle of Worcester, thereby removing the last glimmer of hope. Several months of mopping-up operations lay ahead, but these twin victories ensured that Oliver Cromwell would achieve something that had eluded generations of English kings: the conquest of Scotland.

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JAMES MURDOCH

OUR MAN IN JAPAN

Darren Swanson and **Neil McLennan** explore the role of the Stonehaven-born scholar and journalist James Murdoch, whose work in Japan during the Paris peace conference led him to predict the sowing of the seeds for a second global conflict

In the July/August issue of *History Scotland* we shared the story of James Duncan, President Woodrow Wilson's delegate at the treaty of Versailles peace talks after World War I. One area of interest was Duncan's position with regards to race relations. At Versailles, race relations were a key element of the negotiations and Japanese delegates had pushed President Wilson for a racial equality clause. However, that clause was not progressed.

During the negotiations another Scot, James Murdoch, attempted to bring about a more positive view of racial equality but his views were not taken on board and his prediction of a further world war sadly came true. This article explores Murdoch's life and his secret role during the postwar peace negotiations and international affairs.

In 1905, a new imperial power entered the international arena after the empire of Japan humbled the mighty Russian bear in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05. In less than 50 years, Japan had transformed itself from a peripheral backwater into an industrial powerhouse; its industrial revival sparked in part by another Scot, Thomas Blake Glover, and his progress on shipbuilding and mining. Keen to expand its own influence over a region which had suffered under the aggressive capitalism of the western powers, Japanese militarism was perhaps as much a product of western interventionism as it was of Japanese national fervour.

A Scot who witnessed Japan's rapid transition at first hand was James Murdoch. Described upon his death as 'one of the most remarkable men in the British Empire', Murdoch was many things: journalist, teacher, scholar, and for a short period, secret agent for the Australian government. He arrived in a Japan as a journalist in 1889, by which time the country had wholeheartedly adopted western economic models and industrialism. A decade later, Japan was able to skillfully negotiate its way out of the financial shackles of the extraterritorial system.

Japan's status was further bolstered with the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, marking the end of Britain's 'splendid isolation' and celebrated in

James Murdoch: journalist, teacher and scholar

Cartoon published in the US on 10 July 1919 titled At Last! And showing a man (labelled 'U.S. Senate') gazing at a scroll (labelled 'Peace Treaty') that has been left on his desk by President Wilson. Sadly, the negative ramifications of the treaty would last for generations

Japan as the crowning achievement of decades of hard work and perseverance. An early champion of Japanese success, Murdoch would go on to become one of the world's leading scholars of Japanese history and language, publishing his seminal *History of Japan* in 1903.

Writing in the prestigious *North American Review* in 1900, Murdoch lauded Japan's modernisation efforts, his insider knowledge allowing him to expertly detail the strength of her army and navy. Over the next two decades, Murdoch went on to cultivate a number of friendships amongst high-ranking Japanese through his work as a Japanese scholar. It was this expertise, and perhaps even his network, that

attracted the attention of the Australian government in 1917.

Despite their support for the Allies in World War I, Murdoch was recruited by Australia's director of military intelligence, Edmund L. Piesse, as an advisor on how much of a threat Japanese militarism was to the region. Some in Australia feared 'the yellow peril', a term first coined ironically by their real enemy, Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Although they did not achieve the racial equality clause they desired from the Paris peace conference negotiations, the Japanese had indeed benefitted from the war in Europe and and the subsequent peace talks, which had allowed them to consolidate their position in East Asia by seizing German colonies in China and the Pacific.

Prior to the outbreak of World War I, Australia had relied heavily on Britain for defence, and Piesse intended to make plans for a wholly independent defence strategy for the country. In November 1917, Piesse proposed that Australia establish its own foreign affairs section, essentially an Australian foreign office, which would be used to analyse the potential threat from the ambitions of the Japanese empire. With Piesse's support, Murdoch was given the dual role of official advisor for the Australian defence ministry in regard to Japan, and Australia's first chair of Oriental Studies, at the University of Sydney, a post he held until his death.

Initially, Murdoch's appointment to the University of Sydney was secondary to his lectureship in Japanese at the Royal Military College at Duntroon. It was this role which would see him potentially influence the direction of international affairs. As well as teaching a four-year course in Japanese to eight cadets, Murdoch was given an annual trip to Japan for the regular supervision of the succession of trainee interpreters; it was envisaged that the Australian army would be sending interpreters to Japan at some point. Murdoch used this first trip to recruit former colleagues as well as to gather new books.

Between 1918 and 1919, Murdoch returned to Japan as per his contract. However, his wider mission was to gather intelligence on Japanese policy in the immediate aftermath of the war. He was to correspond with Piesse using the codename 'Mr McCrae', Piesse's wife's maiden name. Murdoch's initial assessment of the post-war mood in Japan was optimistic and he noted that: 'The setback that militarism has met with in Europe has its effect here'. Over the coming months, Murdoch used his journalist network to secure interviews with Shidehara Kijuro, the Japanese vice-minister of foreign affairs, and Roland Morris, the U.S ambassador to Japan.

However, just as the mood had begun to show signs of shifting in Japan, Australian-Japanese relations were dealt a hammer-blow at the Paris peace conference in June 1919. Contrary to Murdoch's advice to Piesse, the Australian prime minister, William 'Billy' Hughes, flatly rejected the inclusion of Japan's racial equality proposal, highlighting the fact that the proposal flew in the face of the 'White Australia' policy his government had promised previously.

Writing to Piesse about the immediate aftermath of the decision in Japan, Murdoch said:

This racial discrimination agitation extends all over Japan: and has been engineered by the military party. It may well be dangerous if not met properly.

Clearly, Murdoch, along with Piesse, viewed Hughes' rejection of Japan's demands as a grave error of judgement. Showing considerable foresight, Murdoch predicted that the slight would shift Japanese popular opinion further to the right and lead to an alliance with Germany. In 1921, Murdoch died after a short illness, and perhaps thankfully, did not see his predictions come to pass.

There are many risks in 'what if' history. However, knowing the direction that events could have taken often makes counterfactuals seem attractive. At the time of the treaty of Versailles, there was a delicate balance of power – key shifts one way or the other were going to have significant consequences in international affairs.

If Japan had been granted the racial equality clause the Japanese delegates had demanded, much may have changed in the course of international events. The self-determination President Wilson advocated seemingly did not apply to non-whites. Moreover, he turned his back on that very policy in his negotiations with Japan at the outset of the Versailles talks.

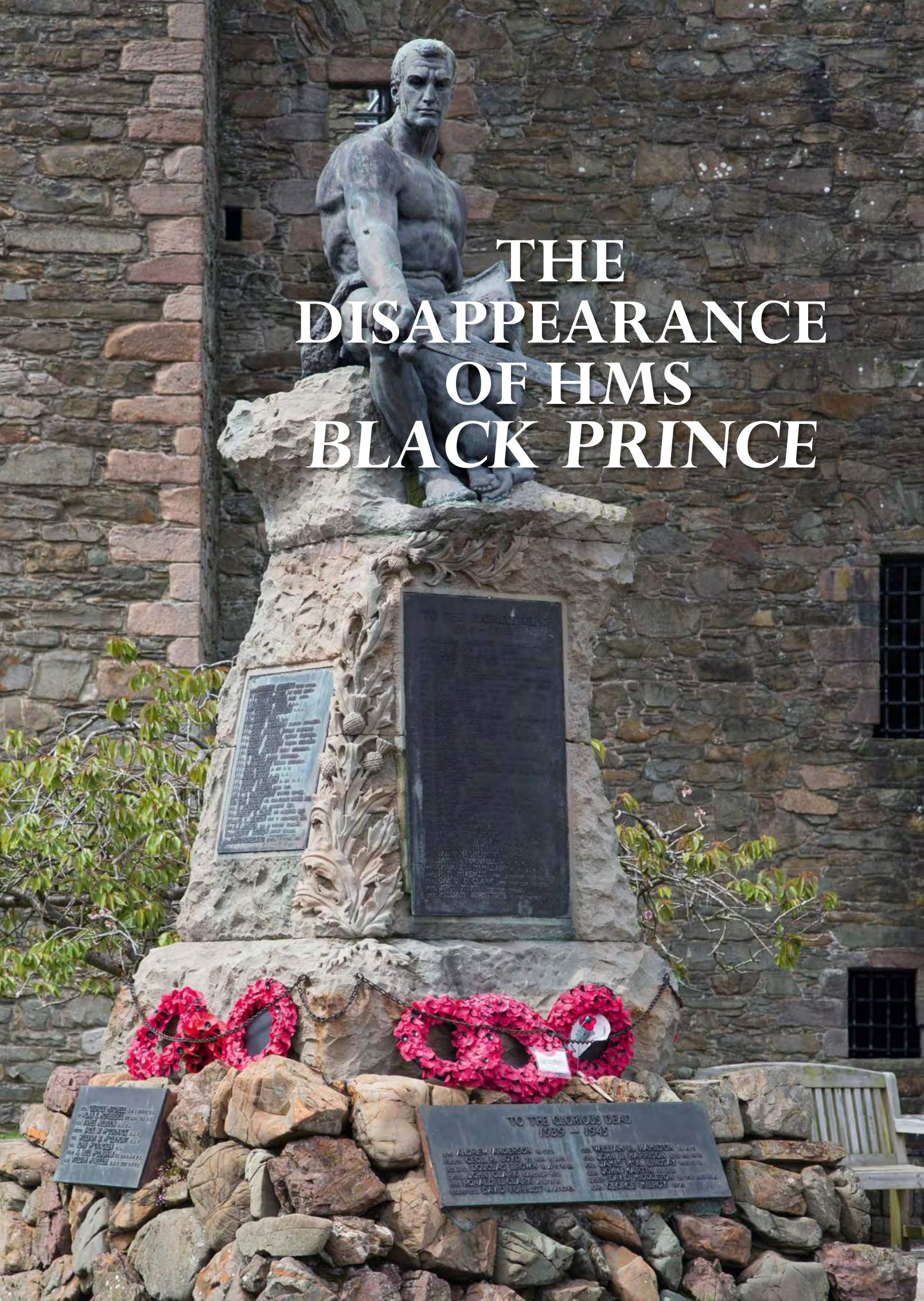
To appease Japan's ire in the denial of the race clause, Wilson and the conference compensated Japan by granting the province of Shantung (Shandong). This province had been the birth place of Confucius and the home of the Boxer rebellion. Margaret MacMillan, a historian of the Paris peace conference, suggested the province was as significant to the China as Alsace-Lorraine was to France.

Whilst Versailles sought to resolve the seething cauldron of discontent in Europe at the start of the century, it also created other simmering issues in South East Asia which would have wider ramifications. Sadly, Murdoch's efforts were in vain. His predictions came true. Despite his best efforts to avoid it, the spy from Stonehaven correctly predicted the break out of a second world war.

Dr Darren Swanson is an academic with a background in museums and cultural history training at Aberdeen University, St Andrews University, Kobe University, and the University of Sydney. He works at Central Queensland University. His research and publications are primarily concerned with the history of foreign influence in Japan and wider East Asia.

Neil McLennan is a double graduate of University of Edinburgh and recently completed a Higher Education Pedagogy Certificate at Harvard University. His early career was in history and history education. He now blends his passion for history with supporting public service leadership development. His historical research work over the past decade has focused on the First World War.

Japanese delegates to the Paris peace conference in 1919. Standing (left to right): Ijuin Hikokichi and Matsui Keishiro; seated (left to right): Baron Makino Nobuaki, Prince Saionji Kinmochi and Viscount Chinda Sutemi



THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HMS *BLACK PRINCE*

Sandy Mullay traces the fate of HMS *Black Prince*, a Cromarty-based cruiser that was mysteriously lost during the battle of Jutland in 1916, and whose final resting place would remain unknown until the discovery of its wreck in the 1980s

The cruiser HMS *Black Prince* left Cromarty in May 1916. She never returned, and all 857 men and boys aboard were destined to be listed as 'missing' on war memorials up and down the land. It was 60 years before the ship's wreck was discovered, and it is now in danger of vanishing once and for all through commercial quarrying.

In the county town of Kirkcudbright, a most impressive war memorial stands near the harbour of this bustling Scottish burgh. 'Stands' is perhaps not the most appropriate term for this monument, for it takes the form of a seated figure, a bronze kilted soldier, his drawn sword protecting a crouching child. This very striking sculpture was designed by G.H. Paulin and erected in 1921. At the unveiling of the monument, a mystery still hung over the first name on the list of those who died. The name is not that of a soldier, but an Ordinary Seaman on HMS *Black Prince*.

When the monument was completed, nobody knew what had happened to the cruiser of that name. Five years earlier, at the battle of Jutland, the *Black Prince* had vanished off the face of the earth, with all its crew of 857 men and boys.

Rediscovered as a wreck on the floor of the North Sea by Danish divers in the 1980s, this ill-fated vessel is now the most heavily degraded of all the 22 ship remnants from the battle of Jutland. Far from being recognised as a war grave, what remains of the *Black Prince* seems unlikely to survive unlicensed commercial predation in the years to come. This lost ship seems likely to vanish, again.

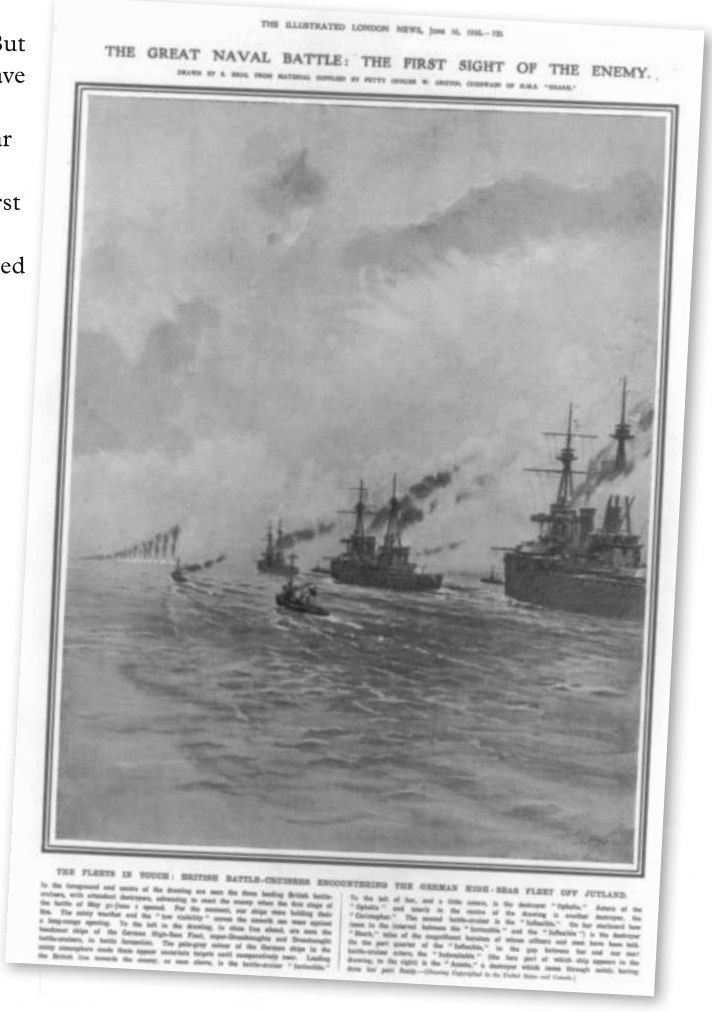
Any ship or aeroplane vanishing nowadays, as happened with the Malaysian Flight MH370 in 2014, immediately becomes the target of conspiracy theorists, not to mention those convinced of alien intrusion into the affairs of mere humans. But the loss of this cruiser seems to have been accepted at the time as yet another terrible fact of life in a war spinning out of control, and in a year already proving to be the worst of the conflict. After all, twelve other British naval vessels had failed to survive the action, three of them large capital ships. Nor did the return of peace produce any morbid reaction to the loss of *Black Prince*. *The Times* newspaper reported nothing more in 1919 than the dedication of a children's cot at a London hospital, subscribed by the lost officers' families.

Joining the fleet

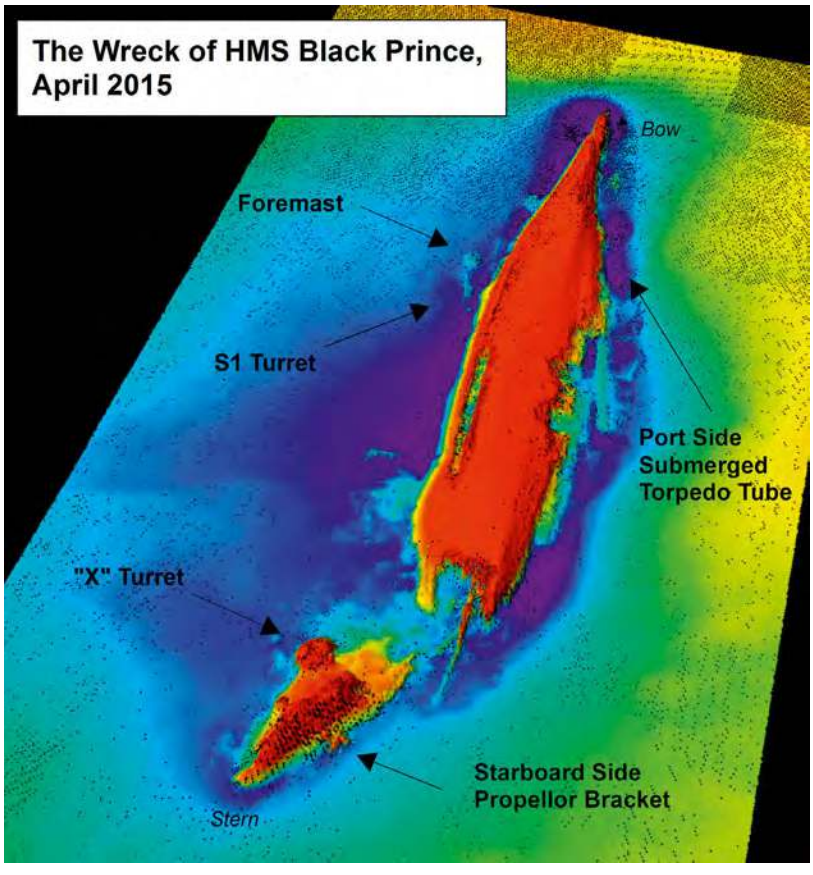
The cruiser HMS *Black Prince* dated from the pre-Dreadnought era, having been launched from the Thames Iron Works in 1904. She was designed for commerce protection, patrolling the empire's trade routes, but the emergence of Germany as a continental enemy forced the Royal Navy to establish a concentrated presence in the

The Kirkcudbright war memorial by G.H. Paulin. At the time this was unveiled in 1921, nothing was known of the fate of the *Black Prince*

Map showing ship movements at the battle


THE GREAT NAVAL BATTLE: THE FIRST SIGHT OF THE ENEMY.

Drawing by S. Begg showing British battle-cruisers encountering the German high-seas fleet off Jutland, from *The Illustrated London News*, 10 June 1916



The seabed wreck of HMS *Black Prince*, scanned remotely in April 2015, 99 years after Jutland. The ship is upside-down, lying with her stern detached at the base of the photograph. Human remains have not registered in the image, or in the consciences of the commercial salvors

Far from being recognised as a war grave, what remains of the Black Prince seems unlikely to survive unlicensed commercial predation in the years to come

North Sea. From 1914 a powerful battle fleet based at Scapa Flow created a need for scouting forces of fast-moving destroyers, and, providing them with greater gun protection, armoured cruisers. But the emergence of new battleships and battlecruisers as dedicated gun platforms, and their concentration by both Britain and Germany in uniform battle fleets, made the North Sea a dangerous place for lighter, less well-armoured warships. *Black Prince*, which was one of those older vessels, received an extra cladding of armour, and, with 9.2 inch calibre main armament, was more heavily armed than most cruisers, on either side. But the loss of the German armoured cruiser *Blücher* at the battle of Dogger Bank in early 1915 should have warned the admiralty that older ships, even those hurriedly additionally armoured, would be no match for shellfire. In the words of American historian Robert W. Massie, 'slow and vulnerable, able neither to fight nor to run, after Jutland the remaining ships of this series were scrapped'.

The Royal Navy was the largest in the world in 1916. Its nucleus was a battle fleet of some two dozen battleships commanded by Admiral John Jellicoe and based at Scapa Flow. Preceding it in any anticipated action was the battle-cruiser force, patrolling out of Rosyth in the Firth of Forth. This force comprised eight to ten capital ships which could match battleships in gun calibre but carried only lighter armour in order to reduce weight and give the coal-fired and hand-stoked vessels an extra five knots of speed. Commanded by Admiral David Beatty the battle-cruisers were intended to reconnoitre the North Sea and lure the enemy's main fleet on to the numerically-superior guns of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet, almost twice as strong. But at the battle of Dogger Bank in 1915, Beatty had already shown an 'up and at 'em' fighting spirit which earned him admiration throughout the fleet, but perhaps might better have been tempered with caution, as events were to prove.

Armageddon at sea

Historians have never ceased to be fascinated by the battle of Jutland. Taking place over a period of around eighteen hours on 31 May and 1 June 1916, this clash of the British and German fleets was truly a marine Armageddon, involving some 250 ships and 125,000 men and boys, of whom nearly 10,000 did not survive. This battle had been expected from the very outbreak of war, a battle which could decide the victors in the greatest conflict the world had ever seen.

Beatty's battle-cruisers and Jellicoe's fleet of dreadnoughts planned a sweep into the North Sea on the last day of May 1916, more to exercise their crews and maintain morale, rather than expecting to stumble on any German activity at sea. Indeed, when an intercepted German radio message was misinterpreted, the admiralty assumed that no enemy action was taking place. Neither Beatty nor Jellicoe had any reason to expect their groups of scouting vessels – destroyers and cruisers – to encounter enemy forces. Using airships or aeroplanes for over-the-horizon surveillance was not developed as much as might be expected, mainly due to the difficulty of using radio in flight, particularly in planes.

Beatty was soon in action on the afternoon of 31 May, his scouting ships detecting the outlying vessels of the corresponding German scouting force of battle-cruisers. Characteristically, Beatty immediately attacked, but failed to take his most powerful ships with him due to a signalling error. His battle-cruisers were supplemented by four of the most powerful battleships on either side – the *Queen Elizabeth* class – but their commanding admiral, who had not worked with Beatty before, missed a garbled order to

The battle of Jutland had been expected from the very outbreak of war, a battle which could decide the victors in the greatest conflict the world had ever seen

follow, and the result was that the battle-cruisers alone took on their opposite numbers in the German fleet, and soon discovered that their marksmanship did not match that of the enemy.

The grand fleet tries to catch up

Accompanying Jellicoe's capital ships were phalanxes of cruisers and destroyers, of which Admiral Sir Robert Arbuthnott's cruiser group was one example. Based at Cromarty, the flotilla's strength consisted of four cruisers – Arbuthnott's flagship HMS *Defence*, followed by *Warrior*, *Black Prince* and *Duke of Edinburgh*. From the old Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire family, Sir Robert of that ilk was very much a sporting man, delighting in boxing, motor rallying and even taking part in the Isle of Man T.T. races. Socially, he was well-connected, and on the day he was to set sail on his last mission with his under-powered cruisers, Arbuthnott had played tennis with Lady Jellicoe, wife of the overall commander in the North Sea. But he appears to have been distracted by inner conflicts. During a German raid in 1914, he failed to open fire on an enemy target through a rigid interpretation of standing orders. This obviously gnawed at him, and two years later, may have been the trigger for a bold but reckless attack on superior forces at Jutland.

Black Prince was on the starboard, western, side of the grand fleet as it headed south on 31 May to assist Beatty's force. The Cromarty-based cruisers were part of a screen intended to identify the location of enemy ships, engage

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, overall commander of the British Fleet at Jutland

Admiral's Reinhard Scheer, overall commander of the German fleet at Jutland

HMS *Black Prince*

them if feasible, and lure them back to the guns of the grand fleet. But the crew of these four older vessels were among the most vulnerable. Although bigger and more heavily armed and armoured than the destroyers, the cruisers lacked the speed and mobility of the smaller vessels. Destroyers also enjoyed safety in numbers and the threat of their torpedos could make many a larger enemy vessel take to flight (as was to happen with Britain's grand fleet at one stage of the battle).

Arbuthnott's ships, like others in or supporting the main fleet from Scapa Flow, was not involved in the action until late in the afternoon. By that time, Beatty had pursued the German battle-cruisers, suffering from their superior shooting qualities in doing so, before realising that his force had been lured on to the guns of the High Seas fleet coming north. The British battle-cruisers – those which had survived so far – were able to extricate themselves, but the four supporting *Queen Elizabeth*s (again) did not receive the necessary signal, and were almost wiped out.

This was where the *Black Prince* came in. She was the first ship of Jellicoe's main force which Beatty saw after desperately turning northwards. She must have been a welcome sight for the hard-pressed Rosyth force.

After the battle

Both sides claimed victory at Jutland – the Germans lost only eleven warships compared to the Royal Navy's fourteen, and only one of these was a modern capital ship, the battlecruiser *Lützow*. In contrast, Britain's losses included three heavy vessels, the *Queen Mary*, *Invincible* and *Indefatigable*. Both sides lost cruisers and destroyers, and so labour-intensive were such ships, that a sinking almost invariably involved loss of lives numbered in the hundreds. British historians have pointed out that, although they fought so impressively, it was the Imperial Germany Navy that left the battlefield. A contemporary American journalist commented that the Germans, whose fleet was normally imprisoned in harbour, had beaten up their jailor – but were still in jail.

Both sides claimed victory at Jutland – the Germans lost only eleven warships compared to the Royal Navy's fourteen

Meanwhile, *Defence* was lost, *Warrior*'s crew saved, but *Black Prince* was missing, and was to remain so for many years to come.

Any remaining difference of opinion between British and German historians reviewing the battle of Jutland was minor, compared to the division which emerged among those who came to be known as the Jellicoe and Beatty 'schools'. Admiral Jellicoe was a quiet, undemonstrative commander, later criticised for failing to pursue the German battle fleet after brilliantly crossing its T. This was a manouevre where battleships blocking the enemy's forward direction could all train their guns on the leading ships of the enemy's formation, the latter being fired on by the entire crossbar of the 'T'. Jellicoe really should have had more credit for this, making a correct tactical decision when under great pressure and lacking intelligence of the enemy's precise location. This should have been supplied by Beatty, commanding what was basically a scouting force. The latter admiral did manage to lure the German battle fleet into Jellicoe's trap, but he failed to keep his force together and all the major ship losses were his.

The National Library of Scotland's archives include a letter from an Edinburgh mother who lost one of her sons on HMS *Queen Mary* at Jutland. She bitterly blamed Beatty for failing to concentrate his forces, leaving his most powerful ships some ten miles behind. Even the admiral's greatest admirers were forced to admit that their champion had acted impetuously and also failed to provide Jellicoe with information. But such criticism had to be tempered with admiration for a commander who, unlike so many army generals, was deep in the heart of the battle, sharing the dangers of shell impact and flying splinters with even the humblest crewmen (or indeed, the boy sailors, some of whom were required to clean periscope lenses from the *outside* of the armoured gun turrets). But so much for the behemoths of the fleets. What part was being played by *Black Prince* in the battle as the night came on?

Counting the cost

Anyone waiting at Cromarty for the return of Arbuthnott's cruiser force would wait in vain for three of the four ships. Only the *Duke of Edinburgh* would return, although the other two vessels, *Defence* and *Warrior*, were at least accounted for. The fate of the first of these will be discussed later, but most of the crew of HMS *Warrior* were saved. When she was mortally damaged, the heavy ships of the High Seas fleet, closing in for the kill, were distracted by the new British battleship *Warspite* turning out of control, and representing a much more attractive prize. *Warrior* was able to slip away from the target zone, but began to sink, her crew being taken off by HMS *Engadine*, a requisitioned railway ferry converted to carry seaplanes (and whose reports were underestimated and ignored). *Engadine* brought back more than 700 men to the Forth, where, 50 years later, the last naval vessel built at Leith was the

helicopter carrier, HMS *Engadine*. *Warspite* was also able to return to the Forth, survived the war and the next war as well.

In speculating about the fate of the *Black Prince* at Jutland, British naval historians had to wait until German records became available, and the account by Captain Otto Groos, first published and translated in the mid-1920s, has been generally accepted as the most accurate now available. According to Groos, the cruiser, separated from its three sisters in the darkness, attempted to join a column of what her commander believed were British battleships, lulled by a false 'friend or foe?' recognition signal which the Germans had intercepted. Once in close proximity, at least three capital ships opened up and swiftly reduced the *Black Prince* to a burning pyre. Groos reported that the cruiser turned stern on to her tormentors – evidently trying to escape – although, as we will see shortly, diving surveys have suggested that this may be a misinterpretation.

30 fathoms down

The wreck of the *Black Prince* was discovered by Danish divers in the 1980s, some two miles from the site previously suggested by the admiralty's own historian. This earlier survey must have been basically guesswork, and some of the other estimates of wrecks' locations are in error by as much as six miles.

The wreck of *Black Prince* was dived by marine historian Innes McCartney personally in 2001 and he was involved with a technical survey undertaken using a remotely-controlled vessel fourteen years later. A full description is given in his authoritative work of reference (see 'further reading' below). Not the least interesting artefact from this survey was the discovery of Scottish-made firebricks from the engine room, manufactured by Robert Dougall & Sons at Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire.

The wreck is upside-down, and this, along with its size, makes it an attractive target for commercial salvagers. The most valuable metals, such as copper, are present in the engine room area, more easily accessed by cutting through the exposed hull rather than the thickened armour on the superstructure.

Of all the 22 wrecks on the seafloor at the battle site, this was the most 'degraded', that is, quarried for materials. With its contents being dispersed and the continuous impacts of currents, the integrity, indeed identity, of HMS *Black Prince* is being dispersed.

Dr McCartney's underwater surveys indicated that the cruiser had attempted to manouevre side-on in activating a torpedo tube. He was unable to determine if the torpedo was still in the tube on the seabed and this clearly would be too dangerous to explore by man diving. This evidence of possible counter-attack by the doomed ship is more in keeping with naval tradition than the German version implying flight on the part of the ship's commander or crew.

Incidentally, the evidence emerging from underwater surveys has often illuminated, and even contradicted, eye-witness accounts of how ships were lost at the battle of Jutland. There is no better example than the flotilla's lead ship, Arbuthnott's HMS *Defence*. Unaware that an assault on an isolated enemy cruiser would expose his ship to the concentrated fire of the High Seas fleet, Arbuthnott's flagship had attacked recklessly and was reportedly blown to smithereens. A number of witnesses reported this, and certainly, there were no survivors to tell of their admiral's foolhardiness. But the ship is apparently intact on the seabed, so much so that divers had to double-check that this was actually the *Defence*. Recent investigations of other underwater wrecks – such as the Leith-registered *Glitra* sunk in October 1914 – have contradicted even Lloyd's lists as to the manner of the sinkings.

Unfortunately, it appears that the North Sea wrecks are no more protected from grave-robbing salvagers than from the shifting silt of the seabed. Human remains can in fact be discerned on the wrecks, even a century after the deaths of so many adult and juvenile sailors. In 2006, following pressure from historians, the ministry of defence designated the Jutland wrecks as coming under the protection of military remains act passed 20 years earlier. Unfortunately, this only governs the actions of British citizens and UK-registered vessels, and even then, the MoD has been criticised for its apparently casual attitude to licensing artefact recovery from wrecks.

In any event, the Jutland battlefield is located in international waters, split between the Norwegian and Danish exclusive economic zones. When a ship's bell was recovered from HMS *Defence*, flagship of the Cromarty-based flotilla, its presentation to a Danish museum by a diving team surprised Dr McCartney: 'A more unscrupulous group could have kept it. Who would have known?' It is in these vague circumstances, as impenetrable as the silted water of the North Sea, that the *Black Prince* is once again vanishing from human ken.

Compiler of the 'Edinburgh Encyclopedia', Sandy Mullay is a long-time capital resident, educated at Portobello Secondary and the Open University. He formerly contributed to 'History Scotland' on the Zeppelin raid of 1916: vol 16.6: https://scot.sh/novdec16.

FURTHER READING

Shipwrecks of the Forth and Tay (Whittles, 2008), B. Baird.

Indiscretions of the Naval Censor (Cassell, 1920), D. Brownrigg

Jutland 1916: The Archaeology of a Naval Battlefield (Conway, 2016), I. McCartney

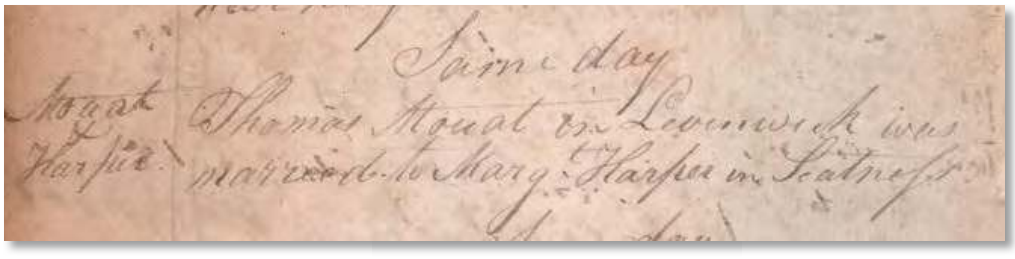
Castles of Steel (Cape, 2004), R.K. Massie

ALONE AT SEA

The nation's archives hold countless tales of fortitude and bravery, but perhaps none quite like that of Elizabeth Mouat. Archivist **Veronica Schreuder** tells the story of a Shetland crofter who found herself stranded alone at sea for nine days following a fierce storm, before being rescued off the coast of Norway and becoming a celebrity back in her home country

On 7 February 1886, the boat *Columbine* struck submerged rocks off the coast of Norway. On board was just one passenger – Elizabeth Mouat from Shetland. Elizabeth's arrival on shore marked the end of a nightmare nine-day journey from the coast of Shetland, and was a miraculous story of survival.

Elizabeth was born in 1825 in Shetland to Thomas Mouat, a shoemaker and herring fisher, and his wife Margaret Harper. Thomas was lost at sea when Elizabeth was only six months old and three years later her mother married a neighbouring fisherman, Thomas Hay, in January 1828. They lived together in his croft house in Scatness, Shetland (where Elizabeth would remain for the rest of her life) with her half-brother James and his family.



An Old Parish Register marriage entry of Elizabeth's mother and father Thomas and Margaret, Dunrossness, Sandwick and Cunningsburgh, 9 December 1824 (National Records of Scotland, OPR Banns and Marriages, 1824, 003/30 159)

Elizabeth never married. She spent her younger years toiling on the land and during the long winter evenings, made hosiery and knitted goods. Elizabeth suffered from various health issues. She was afflicted by a limp and in the summer of 1885, had a 'stroke of paralysis' which left her with further limited mobility.

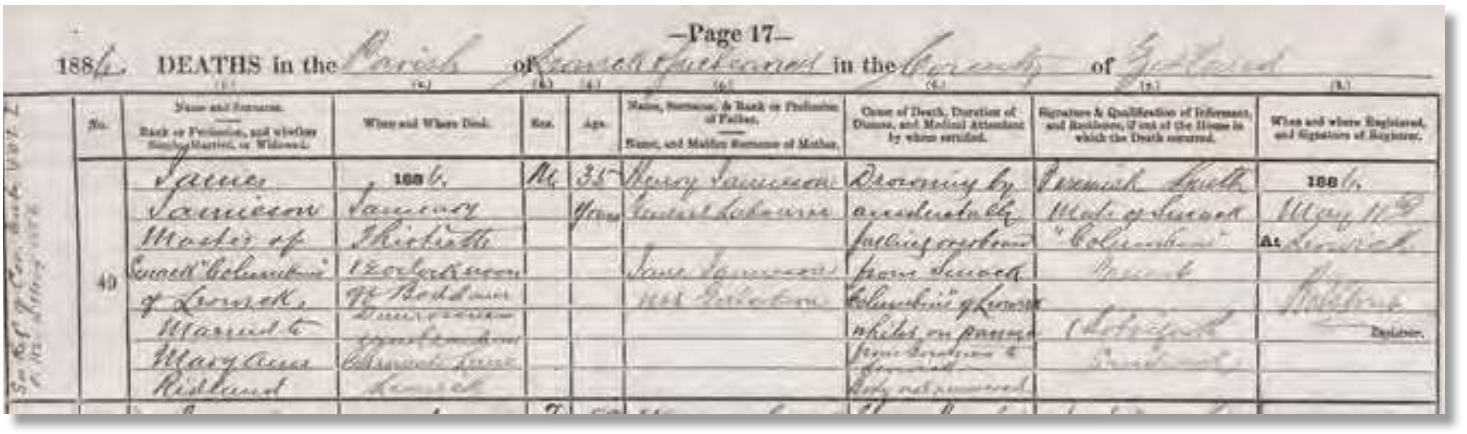
On 30 January 1886, Elizabeth decided to travel to Lerwick to visit the doctor and trade the fine hand-knitted goods that she and other members of the community had made. Many people walked the route along the coast, but Elizabeth was unable to do so due to her weak leg.

1	Thomas Hay	50		Fisherman	
	Margaret do		40		
	Christian do		12		
	Thomas do	6			
	James do	1			
	Elizabeth Mouat		15	F. S.	

The 1841 census recording Thomas and Margaret's household. Elizabeth's name is shown at the bottom (National Records of Scotland, 1841 census, 003/4/3)

Stormy weather ahead

The boat used for the journey was the *Columbine*, whose captain warned Elizabeth that it would be best to delay what would normally be a two-to-three hour journey, as the weather forecast predicted stormy seas. Anxious to set out, however, she convinced the captain to sail. As expected, the weather turned. Elizabeth sheltered below deck and after a while thought that the boat had struck rocks; in reality the vessel was being tossed by a violent sea. In a tragic turn of events, the captain, James Jamieson, was thrown overboard and drowned.



—Page 17.—

1886. DEATHS in the Parish of Lerwick and Cullivoe in the County of Zetland

No.	Name and Surname. Rank or Profession, and whether Single, Married, or Widowed.	When and Where Died.	Sex.	Age.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	Cause of Death, Duration of Disease, and Medical Attendance by whom certified.	Signature & Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Death occurred.	When and where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
49	James Jamieson Master of Smack "Columbine" of Lerwick, Married to Mary Ann Kirkland	1886. January Sixth Off Boddam	M.	35 Years	Henry Jamieson Ann Jamieson Mill Sinclam	Drowning by accidentally falling overboard from Smack "Columbine" of Lerwick whilst on passage from Grutness to Lerwick. Body not recovered	Present at the Death	1886. May 10th At Lerwick

The two remaining crew members launched a small lifeboat but were unable to find him. They realised with horror that the *Columbine* was too far away to return to, and headed for shore to raise the alarm. Two steamers searched for Elizabeth but without success. Press agency telegrams were sent to the British consul in Norway but further searches of the area were halted on 1 February.

On board the *Columbine*, Elizabeth recognised that she was alone. She was trapped below deck, with water being washed into the hold and was soaked through. For over a week, she constantly sat holding onto a rope to stop herself from being thrown around, and suffered terrible blisters on her hands.

As the seas calmed she became hungry. Unprepared for a long voyage, Elizabeth had only packed a bottle of milk and two biscuits. She carefully made her supply last for days and licked condensation off the inside of the boat's windows in a bid to stay hydrated. Elizabeth became weak and cold and was unable to move much, apart from peeking over the open deck hatch to try to spot land or passing ships. Newspapers later reported that she had not given way to 'violent grief' but instead endured her ordeal with calmness and fortitude.

Captain James Jamieson's death entry. The cause of death is given as 'drowning by accidentally falling overboard from Smack *Columbine* of Lerwick whilst on passage from Grutness to Lerwick. Body not recovered' (National Records of Scotland, Statutory Register of Deaths, 1886, 005/49)

About eight o'clock on the Sunday morning, the vessel reached the shore of the small island of Lepsøya, about twelve miles north of the fishing town of Aalesund in Norway.

Elizabeth managed to look out from the hatchway, raise her arms and scream for help. She later recalled how a group of young men nearby saw her and sought aid from local fishermen. One climbed on board and pulled her to shore with a rope. Elizabeth was given care by some villagers, who provided her with warm, dry clothing and brought her to stay in their home.

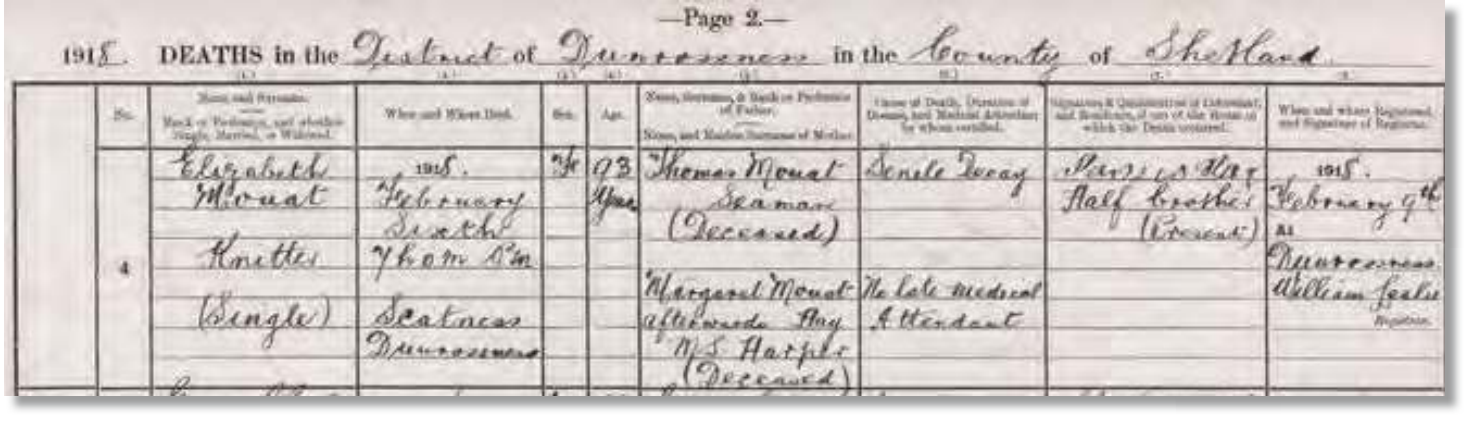
An Englishman, Mr Bulley, who ran a cod liver oil factory on the island, visited Elizabeth and translated her story for the villagers. He took her into his own home in Kjersstaf where she was given medication and nutritious food to aid her recovery. On 15 February, she left Lepsøya to travel back to Scotland.

Elizabeth became a celebrity of her time. She reached Edinburgh on 24 February and Shetland on 16 March. At all stages of her journey the public crowded to see her and back in Shetland she welcomed people to her croft for many years. Queen Victoria was 'much touched by… the sufferings of Miss Mouat, and was pleased to learn by her brother's letter… that she is recovering her strength' and forwarded Elizabeth a cheque for £20. Other donations and gifts were sent by members of the public to Elizabeth to help support her in her advancing years.

The British government awarded Elizabeth's rescuers medals and sent their sincere thanks to the islanders. The bay at Lepsøya, where the boat ran aground, was named Columbinebukta.

Elizabeth spent the next 30 years living quietly in the family croft. She died there on 6 February 1918, the 32nd anniversary of her last night on the *Columbine*.

Website: www.nrscotland.gov.uk. To access genealogical records visit the ScotlandsPeople website www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk.



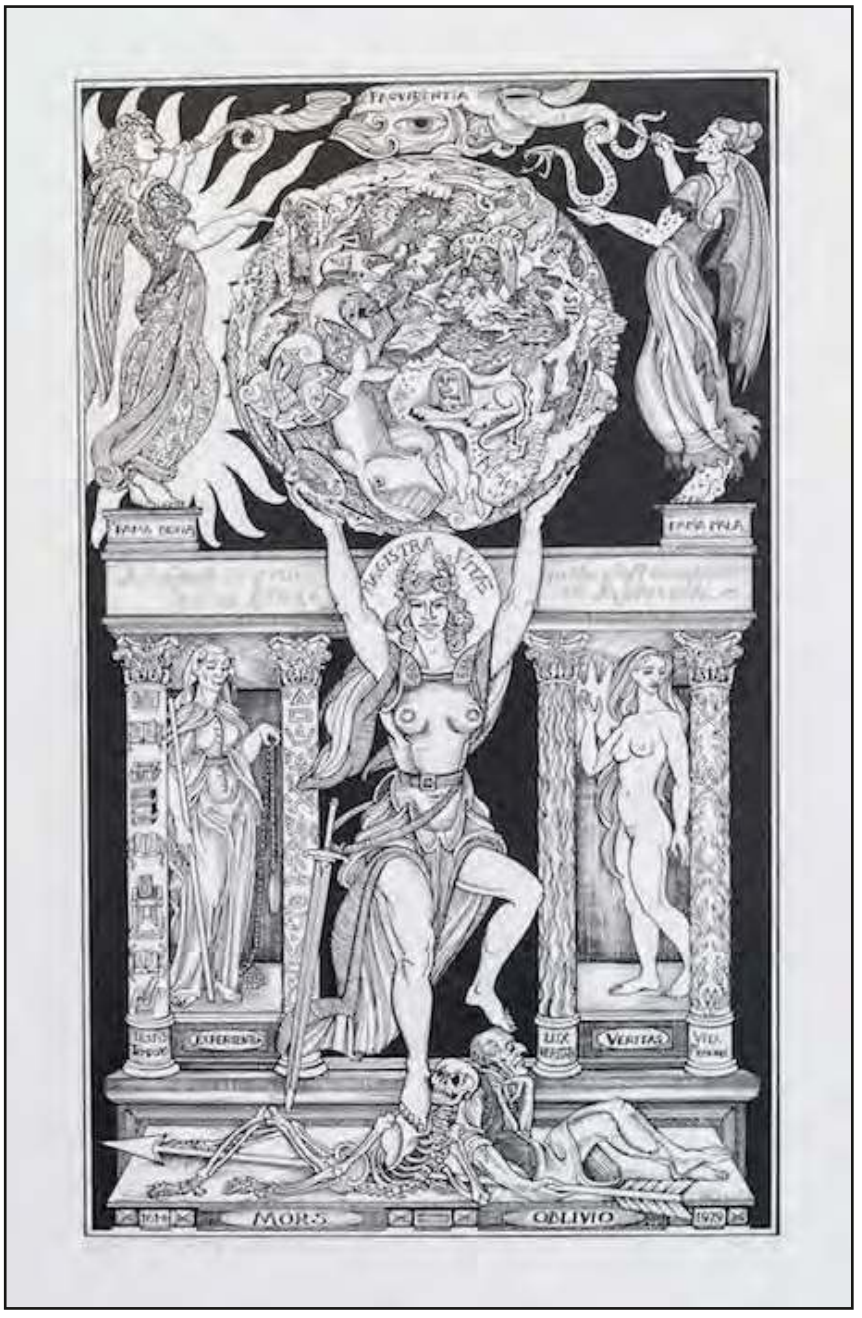
—Page 2.—

1918. DEATHS in the District of Dunrossness in the County of Shetland.

No.	Name and Surname. Rank or Profession, and whether Single, Married, or Widowed.	When and Where Died.	Sex.	Age.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	Cause of Death, Duration of Disease, and Medical Attendance by whom certified.	Signature & Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Death occurred.	When and where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
4	Elizabeth Mouat Knottes (Single)	1918. February Sixth Ybrom Ness Scatness Dunrossness	F	93 Years	Thomas Mouat Seaman (Deceased) Margaret Mouat afterwards Hay M.S. Hazlet (Deceased)	Senile Decay No late medical Attendant	Present Hay Half brother (Present)	1918. February 9th At Dunrossness William Jeaks Registrar

Alasdair Gray's *Lanark* book illustrations: *Historia Magistrae Vitae Est*

Kevin Brown reflects on the six illustrations penned by Alasdair Gray to accompany his debut novel, *Lanark*, finding in them not only outstanding examples of Gray's long-underestimated artistic talents, but also vital clues about his overall creative philosophy



Lanark: a Life in Four Books opens with *Book Three*. The first published version of the title page illustration is a large format lithographic print (1981). Height 48cm x width 29.1cm

Prologue

'I paint because I feel cheap and purposeless when I don't'.
Thaw in *Lanark: a Life in Four Books*, by Alasdair Gray

Alasdair Gray's debut novel *Lanark: a Life in Four Books* was 20 years in the writing. After the usual series of rejections meted out by established London publishers to a novice author, Edinburgh's Canongate Books finally accepted the novel in 1978 and published it in 1981.

Scotland is famously a nation of authors, and *Lanark* is widely credited with kicking off a late-20th-century Scottish literary renaissance that helped to cross-fertilise the work of a legion of fine writers: Irvine Welsh, Tom Leonard, James Kelman, A.L. Kennedy and Liz Lochhead as examples. When Gray was mentioned in a New Yorker article in 1995 the writer referred to him, inevitably, as the 'grand old man of the Scottish [literary] Renaissance'.

According to Phil Moores:

Alasdair Gray **is** *someone special; in Will Self's words, "a creative polymath with an integrated politico-philosophical vision." […] This is not an age of great writers, this is not an age of great anything […] Gray's influence upon British writing in general, and Scottish writing in particular, is significant. In an age of small-scale novels of manners he is writing huge state-of-the-nation*

addresses that deal with war, death, childhood, religion, sometimes all at once.

But *Lanark* is more than simply a brilliant and engaging cultural curiosity from a peripheral European nation: it is a towering work of English language literature on the world stage. Described by the *Guardian* in 2006 as a 'landmark of 20th century fiction', it has been compared in stature and singularity to James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Since the book was published it has always been in print, in nineteen languages by 2018 (it was published in Dutch and Italian translations in 2017).

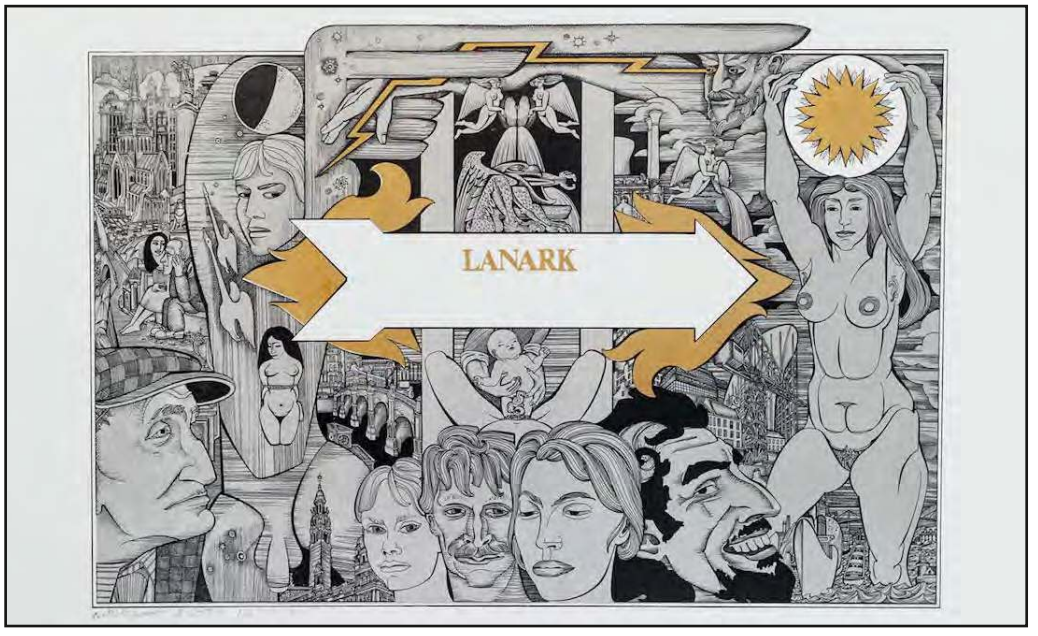
After *Lanark*, Gray went on to publish numerous other titles in most of the possible genres of English language wordsmithery: short stories, novels, plays, essays, poems, histories and polemics. The British Library co-published with Gray (he shares the book's copyright) an anthology of essays about his life and works entitled *Alasdair Gray: Critical Appreciations and a Bibliography*. The bibliography in this 2002 book runs to 47 pages, and Gray has published many more titles since.

Having said which: this article is not mainly about Gray's writings. In the following I will propose that to fully understand his work Gray needs to be considered as an artist first and foremost. His academic training, after all, was in mural painting (fine arts) at the Glasgow School of Art, from 1952 to 1957. But the inhospitable economic climate in Glasgow for fine artists forced Gray to turn his hand to writing to supplement his living, and he became rather good at it. As he himself said to an interviewer for the *Guardian*, 'the writing paid for the painting, and the painting paid for the writing'. From his graduation in 1957 until recently Gray has had to struggle to earn a living in the economically depressed UK regional (or, as Gray might put it, colonised Scottish) city of his birth.

This article will look at Gray's *oueuvre*, including his 'book artistry', in light of his visual practice. It will focus on Gray's suite of six illustrations for *Lanark*: the thinking behind them, how they were produced, their various uses and editions, and the impact they had on Gray's later career, which was considerable. *Lanark*, the novel and its illustrations, both played an outsized role in shaping Gray's subsequent *sui generis* trajectory as an artist, writer, illustrator and book designer combined: a kind of present day 'illuminator' of books.

Lanark: a Life in Four Books: the rocky road to publication

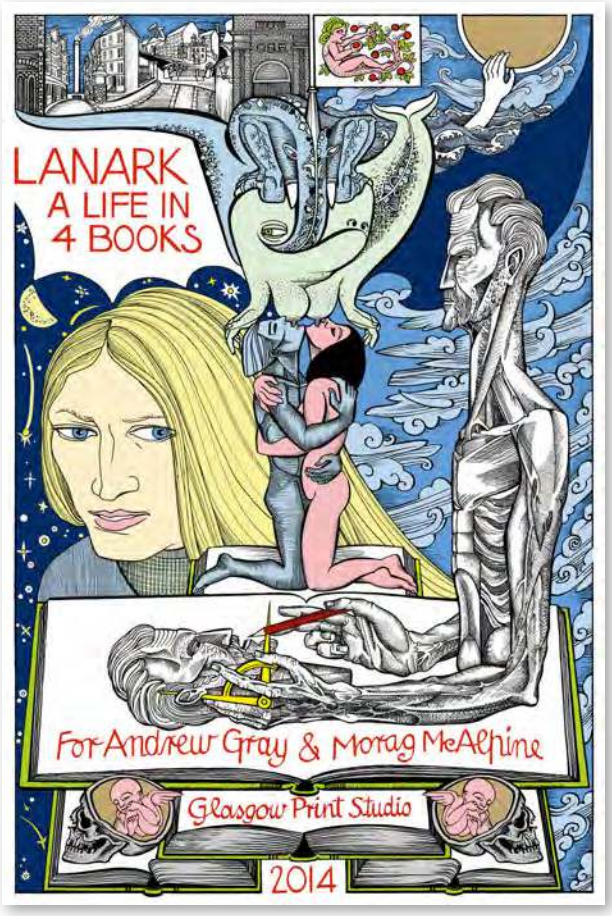
The story recorded in *Lanark* defies description. In broad strokes, it combines science fiction/fantasy and autobiography in a *bildungsroman* (coming of age) novel that switches between realism and dystopian surrealism. The story is set in alternating sci-fi and realistic depictions of Gray's home city of Glasgow. The novel was an instant commercial and critical success, has never been out of print, and has been considered a classic ever since it launched.



Lanark dust jacket illustration, large format lithograph (1981). Height 33.1cm x width 48.3cm

While Gray rejects the label, *Lanark* is often described as 'post-modernist' because of its singular structure. The novel is divided into four 'Books', also with an Epilogue and an 'Index of Plagiarisms'. It opens with Book Three and ends with Book Four, these books chronicling the doings of the character Lanark living in Unthank, a post-apocalyptic, Thatcherite version of Glasgow existing within a perennial twilight. Books One and Two, in that order, come after Book Three and before Book Four, and comprise a real world, present day (1970s) *Kunstlerroman* chronicling the life of a struggling young Glasgow artist, Duncan Thaw (clearly a thinly disguised Gray). While the character Thaw is obviously autobiographical, it is equally obvious that the Lanark character of Books One and Two is also a Gray *doppelganger* transposed into a grey, dystopian alternative Glasgow. The 'Prologue' to the book is situated half way through. Here the character Lanark engages in a lengthy dialogue about the book's plot and possible alternative endings with Nastler, Gray's invented 'author of Lanark' character. This Prologue also includes an 'Index of Plagiarisms', in which Gray lists the literary sources, from around the world and through the ages, from which he has plagiarised material (many are invented). Is this all perfectly clear?

Gray started writing *Lanark* when he was seventeen, and various chapters were published in advance of the complete novel. The *Observer* newspaper published chapter twelve in 1958 as the runner up in a short story competition (Gray was 24 years old). In 1970, the co-founder of Canongate Books, Angus Wolfe-Murray, read two chapters in the literary magazine *Scottish International* and offered to publish the book. By then Gray had shopped the manuscript in London, where it had been turned down by three major publishing houses



General title page illustration, silkscreen print (2014). Image height 57.5cm x width 38cm

because it was considered either 'non commercial', or 'too long' at 600 pages, or both. London based Quartet Books had however bought an option, so Gray had to pass on Canongate's offer.

By 1978 the Quartet option had expired and Charles Wilde was the newly-installed managing director at Canongate. He wrote to Gray enthusiastically praising the book and renewed the firm's offer to publish. Gray had his doubts. Canongate was still a fledgling, driven perhaps more by enthusiasm than by experience or good business sense (Canongate's financial troubles were not finally behind them until 1995). So *Lanark*, which a series of London publishing houses had turned down as financially speculative and possibly ruinous as a business proposition, was finally published on a wing and a prayer by a struggling Edinburgh publisher.

Canongate arranged for Lippincott (taken over by Harper and Row in 1978) to publish a paperback edition in the USA shortly after the UK release. This occasioned some silly delays. The American copy editors spent inordinate time and energy shifting 600 pages worth of Gray's commas into 'correct' positioning. In the discussions that followed Gray refused to change his comma placement to suit the US publisher's tastes. According to Gray, these delays worked out well for him as they enabled him to significantly improve his Index of Plagiarisms. *Lanark* finally published simultaneously in both countries in February 1981, a full three years after Canongate had contracted the book.

The illustrations: inspiration, production, editions and global reach, 1975-2014

In 1975 Gray was in London working on a teleplay for the BBC. During a visit to the British Museum he happened upon a set of postcards in the gift shop, each featuring an engraved book frontispiece from early editions of Hobbes, Bacon, Vesalius and Raleigh. He liked the cards and bought them.

In 1978, with his publishing deal in place, ordinarily Gray would simply have provided his text to Canongate who would then have hired a designer to create a 'sales optimising' graphic design for the book, maybe just a dust jacket design. But since Canongate in 1981 had little to work with financially and knew that Gray was an artist, they asked him to design a dust jacket and illustrations for the book, which he agreed to do free of charge.

Out came Gray's packet of British Museum postcards, upon which he decided to model his illustrations.

To create the illustrations Gray mechanically reproduced larger versions of the postcard frontispiece images, which he sourced from books and overdrew with pen and ink. He used a similar technique with the book cover and general title page illustrations, taking copies of studies and sketches from his archive, collaging, mechanically reproducing, and overdrawing them in ink.

Sticky labels printed, cut out and pasted over 'All flesh is grass' on the 1981 *Book Three* lithograph artwork to adapt it for the book illustration

1978 was a good year for Gray. Not only had *Lanark* been accepted for publication, but he had accepted a job at Glasgow University as a writer in residence, which gave him a degree of financial security. To celebrate these successes he arranged with the Glasgow Print Studio to publish a lithographic edition of his illustrations. By then he had created the camera-ready artwork, which he proceeded to alter to suit his new purpose.

The suite of six black and white lithographs were published in a signed edition of 45 in February 1981. This edition has various unique features, notably: Book Three bears an inscription in silver, 'All flesh is grass, let us graze in the cleft meadows of Aphrodites' in place of 'Book Three'; Book Four includes the biblical source of the Hobbes' quotation from Leviathan, printed partly in gold: 'By Arts is manufactured that great mechanical man called a state, foremost of the Beasts of the Earth for Pride' (additional text: 'Job c41, v54'); and Book One features an untitled poem by Gray in a register at the top of the image, as well as his adaptation of the Glasgow city motto, 'Let Glasgow flourish by telling the truth'.

Gray gave away most of these prints, often to people to whom 'he owed something, or felt he owed something'. He gave a set to University of Glasgow Library's special collections, and another to the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum in Stirling. The Glasgow Print Studio retained a set for their archive (numbered 2/45); and Glasgow Museums acquired a set from the Glasgow Print Studio for the collection of the Glasgow Museum of Modern Art. Otherwise these prints seem not to have survived in numbers, certainly not as complete sets. There are for example no sales reflected in online fine art auction records.

Given that in 1981 Gray was essentially unknown as a writer and only slightly known as an artist, it is not surprising that these lithographs seem to now be rare.

Lanark was published in February 1981. Gray adapted the artwork for the lithographs for the book illustrations, using pen and ink, stick on labels and Tipex to do so. His camera-ready artwork is now in the special collections of the National Library of Scotland, a gift from Gray.

Lanark has never been out of print and has been published in nineteen languages, in hard cover and paperback. In most editions the cover images are either variations on the 1981 dust jacket illustration or versions of the Book Four title page, which features on all UK soft cover editions. The Book Four title page has also usually been adapted for use as the cover on foreign language editions because the naked female image on the dust jacket illustration (featuring Gray's friend Marilyn Oag, his 'muse') was considered indecent, particularly in Catholic countries.

It follows that these two images are likely the most globally well-known images Gray has produced. Neither is it surprising that *Guardian* art critic Jonathan Jones included the *Lanark* suite of illustrations in a 2014 list he compiled of the 'top 10 Scottish art treasures'.

In 2014 the Glasgow Print Studio produced a signed silkscreen edition of *Lanark* illustrations in a full colour edition of 50 to coincide with Gray's 80th birthday and the retrospective of his art staged at Glasgow's Kelvingrove. And in 2018 the Scottish parliament and the National Library of Scotland acquired sets of the 2014 prints for their respective national collections of Scottish art and literature.

What does it all mean?

Researching this article included recording interviews with Gray at his Glasgow home. During the early days while thinking about it I stared at the illustrations for endless hours, seeking out hidden metaphorical (or metaphysical) meanings. Does the Book Three title page with its dancing female figure have a Dionysian subtext? Was Book Four designed as Apollonian to contrast with Book Three? And so on.

When I asked Gray to unveil his hidden secrets he responded to my questioning with a blank look. He then explained that he used his set of British Museum postcards as models for the illustrations simply because he liked them, his novel was divided into four books, and it seemed to him, back in 1979, like a perfect fit. And that was that.

So of the metaphorical meanings concealed within these complex and beautiful images, according to the artist who created them: there aren't any.

But is this true? It often falls to art historians to unravel the meanings of works that may be inscrutable even to their creators, who, having brought them into the world, are too close to them to fully understand their meanings.

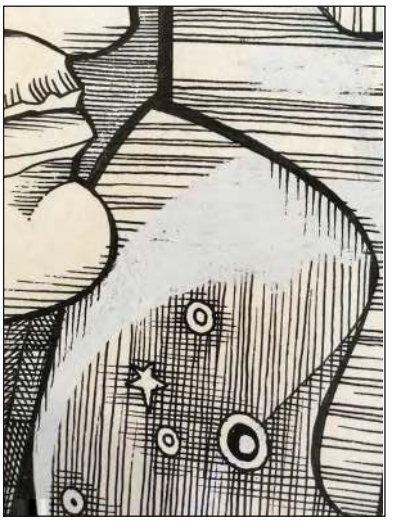
From such an art historical vantage point: yes! There is indeed a deeper meaning in play. It is concealed in plain sight within the nimbus surrounding the head of the Gaia resembling, world supporting, dancing female figure on the title page to Book Three, and reads: '*Magistra Vitae*'.

From Wikipedia:

Historia est Magistra Vitae, or […] Historia magistra vitae est is a Latin expression, taken from Cicero's De Oratore, which suggests that 'history is life's teacher'. The phrase conveys the idea that the study of the past should serve as a lesson to the future, and was an important pillar of classical, medieval and Renaissance historiography.

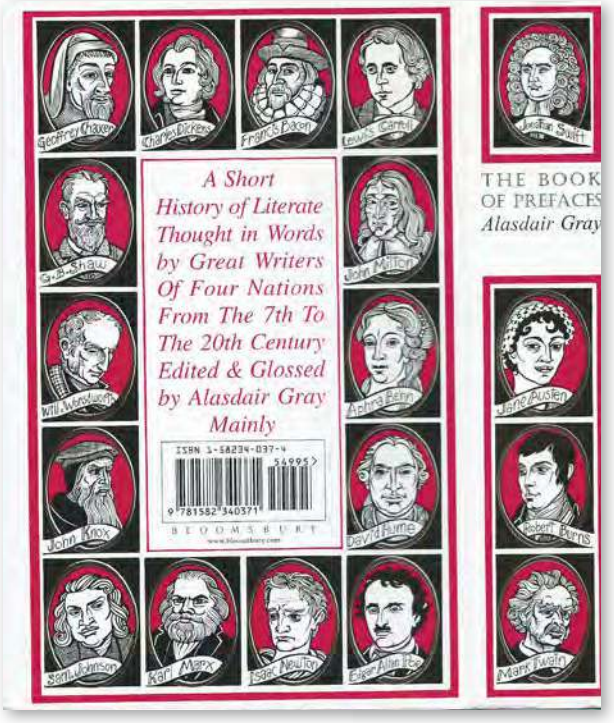
Gray with his bookish artistry is no less an anachronism in today's age of 'post-modernism' than the monks who long ago preserved the knowledge and memory of humanity by copying and illuminating books throughout the monastic middle ages until the invention of the printing press. In a note at the end of his novel *History Makers* (1994), Gray gives us his own definition of post-modernism:

Postmodernism happened when landlords, businessmen, brokers and bankers who owned the rest of the world had used new technologies to destroy the power of labour unions. Like owners of earlier empires they felt that history had ended because they and their sort could dominate the world forever. This indifference to most people's well being and taste appeared in the art of the wealthy. Critics called their period postmodern to separate it from the modern world begun by the Renaissance when most creative thinkers thought they could improve their communities.

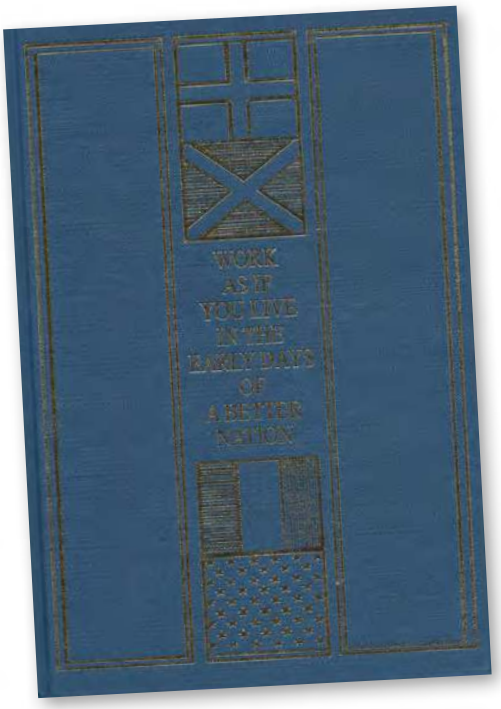


Dust jacket illustration camera ready art detail: use of Tipex as artistic material

Gray's polymathic mastery of metiers is perhaps best illustrated by his *Book of Prefaces*, which he spent more than a decade working on, from receiving his first advance from Canongate to getting the book published by Bloomsbury in 2000. The task of writing and assembling it was so vast that in the end Gray had to call upon various of his Glasgow writer friends to


A Short History of Literate Thought in Words by Great Writers Of Four Nations From The 7th To The 20th Century Edited & Glossed by Alasdair Gray Mainly
THE BOOK OF PREFACES
Alasdair Gray
BLOOMSBURY

Spine and back cover of dust jacket, *The Book of Prefaces* (2000)]



Metalled board, front cover of the *Book of Prefaces*

help him to finish it: Liz Lochhead, James Kelman and others. Had he not done so, he wrote in his own preface, 'it won't be completed until the third millenium.'

The *Book of Prefaces* can best be described as the nearly insane enterprise of creating a *precis* of all English language literature, to include every book of note written in Scotland, Ireland, England, and the USA from Caedmon in circa 700 AD until 1920. It is a compilation of the prefaces (or prologues, or preambles) of the books deemed by Gray to be important, with a marginal gloss alongside each written by himself to explain their significance *from where he sits*.

And that is the key. Above all else Gray is a communitarian moral philosopher; he believes that his personal role, and the only proper role for anyone, is to improve his community in the best renaissance manner. And to this end Gray has deployed all of his scholarship and formidable talents with words and pictures in aid of his chosen metier: book artistry. Through his 'illuminated texts' he has aimed to entertain, yes; but also to enlighten and to educate, and so to improve the commonweal.

Gray exquisitely illuminated his *Book of Prefaces*, his BOOK of BOOKS as he styles it in the author's blurb, down to the finest details. The dustjacket is adorned with cameo portraits of various greats of English literature; and the metalled boards beneath are lettered: 'Work as if you live in the early days of a better nation.' This exhortatory dictum is usually credited to Gray (it is carved in stone on the Canongate facing wall of the Scottish parliament over Gray's name); although he attributes it to a Canadian writer, Dennis Lee. It is couched as an imperative because to Gray's way of thinking to behave so is incumbent upon all of us, always and forever. History and civilization, properly understood, instructs us so: *Historia Magistrae Vitae Est.*

Book 1: the final chapter

Canongate in 1978 was more of a figment than a publishing house, fuelled by little more than a few pounds and the enthusiasm of the company's directors, a pair of canny and street-smart Scots. Against the odds (and it took decades for them to do it) Canongate succeeded, and along the way it even accomplished the publication of Gray's 'difficult' 600-page debut novel.

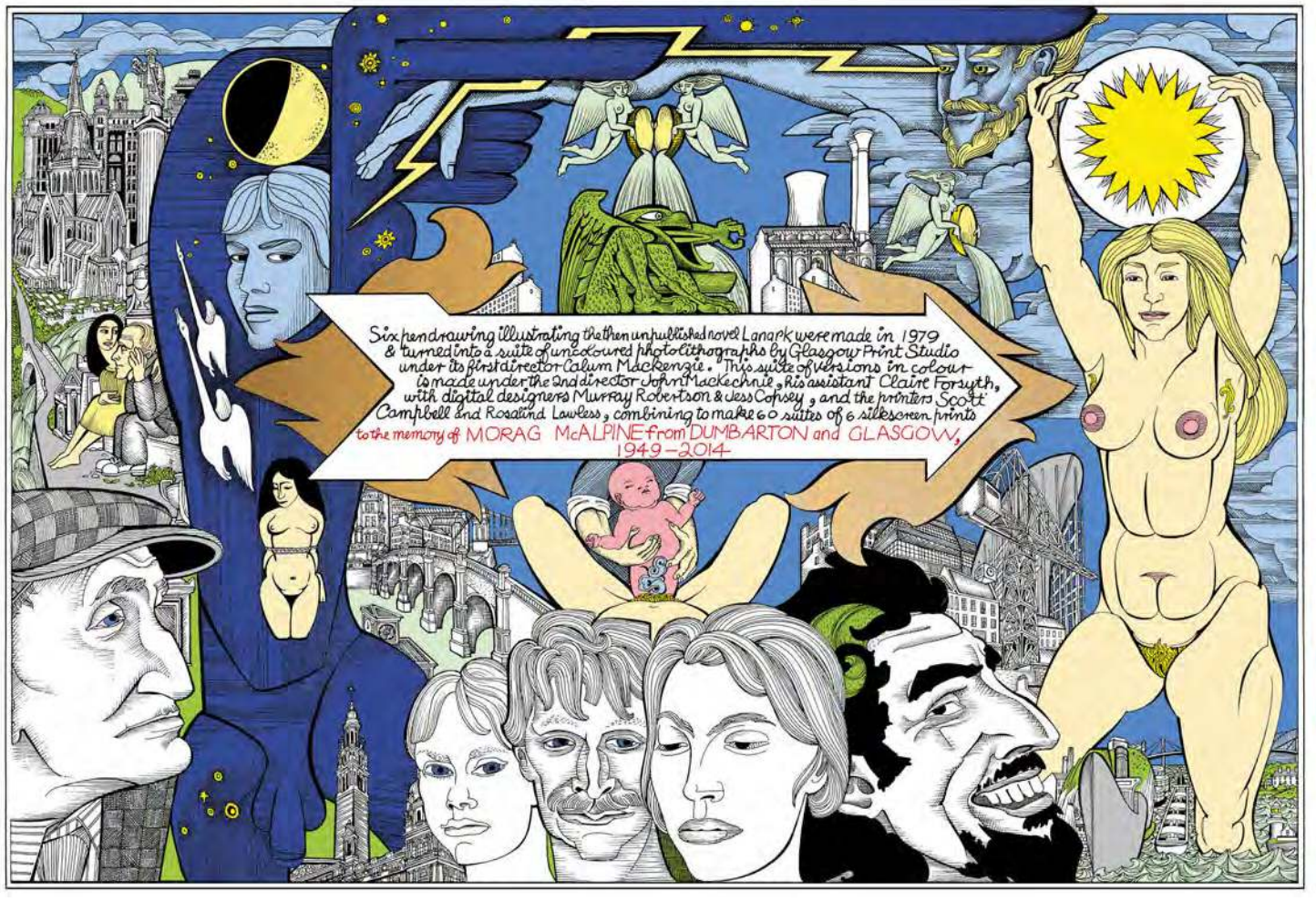
This concatenation of miracles allowed Gray the astonishing opportunity to write, illustrate and completely design his first book. It made perfect sense that he adapted the postcards of historic frontispieces he acquired at the British Museum for his illustrations. He liked the images; and perhaps adapting them served him subconsciously as a nod both to civilization's best features and to Cicero's dictum.

What better illustrations than these were available to Gray to improve his community in the approved renaissance manner? – 'his community' being the worldwide readership of *Lanark*, and after that of his other books. Even in 1978 the creator of *Lanark* (and later, the mastermind behind the *Book of Prefaces*) was so steeped in scholarship, art, civilization and in the philosophy of humanism that he simply could do no other. His choice was both inspired, and in retrospect rather obvious.

The *Lanark* illustrations were a key part of the literary *tout ensemble* that empowered Gray in his later dealings with the UK publishing industry. Post *Lanark*, Gray was able, because of this book's critical and commercial success and the leverage that gave him, to forge a revolutionary (for the 20th century) new artistic form: total book design, or 'illumination', including words, illustrations, dust jackets, designed metalled boards, off the wall erratum slips and spoof dust jacket reviews. Each of Gray's books is also infused with verbal and visual moral messaging from a socialist and pro Scottish independence perspective. Notwithstanding his politics, from *Lanark* onwards Gray's publishers not only left him to design his books in each and every detail: they competed with each other to publish Gray's illuminated texts because his books had achieved a global following.

Not since the monks of Lindisfarne and their medieval monastic brethren hand copied and decorated devotional books and classical texts has the art of the book been treated as Gray has done: as a *gesamtkunstwerk*, or total artwork. The visionary poet William Blake, to whom Gray is sometimes compared, also wrote, designed and

Book One illustration, large format lithograph (1981). Image height 47.9cm x Width 28.9cm


Six pen drawing illustrating the then unpublished novel Lanark were made in 1979
& turned into a suite of uncoloured photolithographs by Glasgow Print Studio
under its first director Calum Mackenzie. This suite of versions in colour
is made under the 2nd director John Mackechnie, his assistant Claire Forsyth,
with digital designers Murray Robertson & Jess Cohsey, and the printers Scott
Campbell and Rosalind Lawless, combining to make 60 suites of 6 silkscreen prints
to the memory of MORAG McALPINE from DUMBARTON and GLASGOW,
1949–2014

Dust jacket illustration, silkscreen print (2014). Image height 58cm x width 85cm

printed his own editions. But Blake's books were non-commercial and not well understood in their day. Alasdair Gray is a true successor to Blake but with this difference: that Gray's titles have been critically and commercially successful in his own lifetime.

Because of his literary success Gray is all too often viewed as a writer, full stop. Astonishingly, the first solo London exhibition of Gray's visual art was staged only in 2017. A *London Review of Books* reviewer wrote:

The most startling thing about the exhibition, though, is that it's the first ever solo exhibition of Gray's work to be put on in London. It's taken until his ninth decade for London to bother having an exhibition to celebrate one of Britain's greatest living artists.

Indeed.

Alasdair Gray's bewildering array of talents has, it seems, often made it difficult for his accomplishments in particular fields to be fully appreciated. Thus his career as a writer has had the effect of obscuring his talents as a visual artist; and that he has applied his visual practice so successfully to illustrating his books has meant that many have dismissed much of his artistic *oueuve* as 'mere' illustration.

Does justice always prevail? The jury is out on that one. It is of note however that the Tate has arranged to acquire Gray's personal suite of 1981 *Lanark* lithographs for the UK national art collection (numbered 1/45). These, together with a group of Gray's paintings, have been accessioned into the Tate Modern, signaling that the British art establishment has recognised – finally! – that our Alasdair is an artist of international stature and global significance.

Kevin Brown FSA Scot is a freelance writer, designer and curator based in Glasgow. He curated exhibitions of Alasdair Gray's art at the Coningsby and Leyden art galleries in London in 2017, and is currently working on a book about Gray's art provisionally titled, Magus: The Art of Alasdair Gray.

FURTHER READING

Lanark: A Life in Four Books (Edinburgh, 1981), A. Gray

Alasdair Gray: Critical Appreciations and a Bibliography (Boston Spa and London, 2002), ed. P. Moores

A Life in Pictures (Edinburgh, 2010), A. Gray

Of Me & Others: An Autobiography (Glasgow, 2014), A. Gray

Alasdair Gray's Life in Pictures: Paintings, Drawings and Prints 1951–2017 (London, 2017), K. Brown and A. Gray

The following account, by Alasdair Gray himself, was published in the catalogue for his 2017 London art exhibition

The *Lanark* book illustrations

Published in 1981, my first novel had six black and white illustrations which, before publication, I paid to have turned into prints by a combination of silkscreen and lithography, the colours being black with some details in gold. Like the novel, these pictures blended personal reminiscences and quotations from other pictures, not all my own.

The biggest print was for the cover. At the centre foot were the faces of my wife, Inge, me and my son Andrew as we looked in 1970 or 71. On our right is the face of my inspiring student friend, Alan Fletcher; on the left is an elderly caretaker in Uddingston Public Library who became a friend when I held evening classes in art appreciation there in the early 1960s, and who I thought a splendid type of sane, widely experienced, Scots working man. Above and behind these is a queer gafuffle of titanic mummy, daddy and son figures, with glimpses of Glasgow, its Cathedral, Necropolis, Clyde shipbuilding and Dumbarton Rock.

The general title page has visual quotations from the *Faust in his Study* print and also from my painting *Cowcaddens* in the 1950s. It is another effort to show everything in one picture.

Lanark is divided into four books in this order: 3,1,2,4.

Book Three is from Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1614. My main changes are in *Magistra Vitae* (Life Itself) redrawn as a woman, whose shape I preferred. She tramples underfoot *Mors* and *Oblivio* (Death and Forgetfulness) and I have drawn forgetfulness as a senile old man instead of an idiotic youth. In Raleigh's world globe, the only events shown are an Atlantic sea fight, probably hinting at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and a battle in North Africa suggesting Rome's victory over Carthage. My globe shows the USA as a brontosaurus confronting the USSR mammoth, Europe as a caricature of Durer's *Melancholia*, Africa as a sphinx, and Captain Ahab chasing Moby Dick to the Antarctic.

Book One is based on Francis Bacon's 1620 title page to his *Novum Organum Scientarium*, in which I have added portrait heads of James Kelman (who had the face I would have liked my hero Thaw to have possessed), the face of Aunt Annie, my mother's sister, (because I had no drawing of my mother), and the profile of my friend Margaret Gray as I knew her in the 1950s, and on whom the first appearances of Thaw's lover Rima is based. Behind them is a view of Riddrie in North East Glasgow, where I was born and left in 1961. I have no good reason for having the Atlantic pour in and flood it between the Straits of Hercules, unless I was suggesting that the culture of a Transatlantic nation was swamping my own, which I then only partly believed.

Book Two is a redrawing of the first great illustrated study of human anatomy *Day Humani Corporas Fabrica*, published by Andreas Vesalius in 1543. My only change was to put Glasgow University's coat of arms into the medallion at top, because when I was drawing it, I was a writer in residence there.

Book Four is drawn from the famous title page to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* of 1651, in which he shows a nation state composed of all of the bodies of the inhabitants, and urges that the government should have one legal head for both its army and its police, and also its religion. The landscape below him is a view across central Scotland from the Firth of Clyde (with shipping and nuclear submarines) to the North Sea with oil rigs. Below on the left, Hobbes showed cartouches containing emblems of state power (castle, crown, cannon and battlefield) with religious emblems on the right (cathedral, bishop's mitre, threats of divine wrath, etc.) I drew the modern equivalents of these.

Book Two title page illustration, silkscreen print (2014).The Latin text in the cartouche at the bottom translates: 'Man is the pie that bakes and eats himself, and the recipe is separation.' Image height 57.5cm x width 34.5cm

Book Four title page, large format lithograph (1981).
Image height 49cm x width 28.6cm

TAP TO WATCH

Exploring the landscapes of Bella Coola, British Columbia, today

Sir Alexander Mackenzie Canada's forgotten hero

Douglas Reid charts the achievements of Stornoway-born Alexander Mackenzie, who carried out the first recorded crossing of America from east to west

There are three unearned realities which have ever served to place the name of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in three undeserved shadows. The Sir Alexander Mackenzie we are chasing through history in this article is the explorer. The other Sir Alexander Mackenzie is the politician – Canada's second prime minister. They are widely separated in time; the explorer died two years before the politician was born. Apart from the name they were in no way alike: the politician was honest and patient; the explorer was courageous, intelligent and more than a little dashing. The former was prosaic, the latter poetic. The two are often confused and because many historians are political historians, it is the explorer who is neglected.

The second shadow was cast by the sturdy and public relations-aware Simon Fraser, for whom the mighty Fraser River is named; this despite the fact that Mackenzie navigated most of the river whilst Fraser was still a teen.

So, who was the explorer Sir Alexander Mackenzie and what achievement propelled him to the distinction of Canada's forgotten hero? He was born in Stornoway in Scotland's western isles in 1764 into a prominent family of merchants. After the death of his mother, he left for Canada aged just ten, along with his father, before being apprenticed to a fur trading company whilst his father and uncle served with the king's royal regiment of New York.

We meet Mackenzie in 1789, when, aged 25, he embarked upon an expedition to the Arctic ocean, an adventure that would spur him to greater heights when in 1793 he accomplished the first recorded east to west crossing of America, preceding the most famous expedition by Meriweather Lewis and William Clark by a dozen years: our third unearned reality.

Start of the journey

Once Mackenzie's intended destination had been determined, preparations moved apace. He and his crew set out on their journey a few miles from Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska, leaving on 3 June 1789 at 9am. Their mission was to find the northwest passage to the Pacific ocean.

It took the party, with their native guide Nestabet, three weeks to travel 110 miles to what we now know as the Mackenzie River, Canada's longest. Along the way the adventurers spent 20 days crossing the mammoth Great Slave Lake and all its myriad islands. Once on the river that would eventually be named for him, Mackenzie foresaw a relatively stress-free waterway to the coast, but was carried at a full right angle as the river swept north. Modern travellers know this spot as the Camsell Bend. With the passage of both time and water, Mackenzie gradually came to the realisation that this northerly course was not about to change. And it was along this stretch that the travellers would first encounter the aboriginal peoples of the north.

Explorer Alexander Mackenzie (1764-1820)

The native peoples they met were seldom hostile and this was partly to the credit of Mackenzie, whose personable ways and respect for native culture won him many friends. As the party progressed north they were informed of the close proximity of the great river delta (another natural feature that would be named for the explorer). By now the crew had made the discovery of what would prove to be their most persistent foe – not bears but mosquitoes! The men tried to escape these insects by approaching the Arctic at the river's mouth, but to little avail. In any event it was time to return home – without having discovered the northwest passage.

A second attempt

The party headed home at double speed on the second-longest river on the continent. Mackenzie and his men reached home 102 days after their departure and, almost immediately, the explorer made plans for a second assault on an overland journey to the Pacific.

He spent the next winter in England preparing for this new quest by learning about astronomy and navigation, as well as acquiring books and the necessary up-to-date navigation instruments. The spring of 1792 found him back at Fort Chipewayan to prepare for that second assault on the Pacific coast. He had a new knowledge and resolve and had decided that this time, the departure point would be further around the Athabaska at Fort Fork.

In mid-October, ten men and one dog climbed into the three canoes – a long paddle to the west coast was underway. Their immediate goal was to attain the confluence of the Peace and Smoky rivers where they would be able to erect a fort and hunker down for the winter. By this tactic they would be as far west as possible to begin their journey to the Pacific coast. On 17 October the party reached Fort Vermillion and in just thirteen days, the three canoes arrived at the future site of Fort Forks.

The fort building began with the cutting and placing of a rectangle of palisades to protect the rough-hewn but serviceable buildings. Today, a plaque erected by the federal government is in place at Fort Forks and a few artefacts strew the site.

By November the Peace River was frozen and on New Year's Day 1793, more than one kind of spirit warmed the camp, as Mackenzie recorded in his journal:

> *My people, in conformity to the usual custom,*
> *Awoke me at the break of day with the discharge*
> *Of fire-arms with which they offered flour and cakes*
> *With the usual pemmican and plenty of spirits.*

The day was complete when Alex and his men were introduced to the western Canadian weather phenomenon known as Chinooks, a warm wind which besides raising spirits, provided a respite from the icy blasts.

After a long winter, the canoes were repaired and in April, preparations were made for the push west. By the ninth day of May, the crew had abandoned Fort Forks; they would follow a south-west-south-west course to the coast. The distance from Fort Forks to the future site of Bella Coola was 1,750 km.

The going was relatively smooth for a time but once past the site of today's Hudson Hope the river morphed into a series of swirling, swishing, cataracts; some serious portaging loomed. The men, especially one vociferous Jacques Beauchamp, balked and demanded to turn back.

In this type of crisis, a leader's people skills are required; luckily Alex Mackenzie was so endowed. Instead of demanding this or threatening that, he appealed to his men's skills as *voyageurs* (French-Canadians known for their skill in transporting furs by canoe). Their course was resumed and mile after mile, the bubbly water washed the canoes and floats astern. On 12 June they paddled by Arctic lake and a milestone had been reached – the continental divide. Emboldened by this achievement, they rode the swirls and twirls of the Peace River as the walls of the mountains defined their progress.

To journey's end

The *voyageurs* rested for a day at Fort George (now Prince George) and from there rode the grand water slide known as the Fraser River. Mackenzie travelled as far south on this river as Alexandria, leaving the job of tracking the Fraser into the Gulf of Georgia to Simon Fraser some fifteen years later in 1807. On the day the exploratory party reversed course to travel north, Mackenzie decided to leave his mark in two ways. Firstly, an empty keg of rum was placed in the water. Secondly, Mackenzie briefly beached his craft below present-day Alexandria, and carved on a riverside willow tree 'Alex Mackenzie 1793'. Neither the keg nor the tree has ever been found.

Mackenzie returned north to the westward-flowing West Road River, as he named it. Had he but known, he was now only 200km and twelve days from his ultimate goal – the west coast. On 11 July, the snowy tips of the coastal mountains came into view, then two days later, a First Nations woman told the men of the sea being visible from a height (now Mount Mackenzie). On 17 July the adventurers entered

Bella Coola, the final stage of the journey

Bella Coola valley. The local native nation was the Nuxalt (pronounced Naltex).

Mackenzie's canoes were in a battered condition so the men walked the final stage and because he wished to leave a mark of his achievement, he arranged to borrow one of the chief's small, swift canoes and, accompanied by two of his men, paddled out and up the coast a short distance and there found a large, flat boulder poised just above the line of high tide. He was about to make this boulder the most famous one in the country – then or now. Mackenzie mixed a batch of vermillion and melted grease and etched on the rock the following:

ALEX MACKENZIE
FROM CANADA
BY LAND
22ND JULY 1793

That rock has become a Canadian icon and it marked the high point of the life of Alexander Mackenzie. After his seminal voyage he returned to upper Canada (Ontario) where he continued a successful career in the fur trade. He would leave Canada to return to Scotland in 1812, where he purchased the Avoch estate on the Moray Firth on Scotland's east coast. He resided here until his death in 1820.

The stone that Mackenzie inscribed to mark his achievement

Like other explorers, Mackenzie kept a journal of his voyages; Simon Fraser kept and referred to this very journal on every day of his travels, and there was another who arranged for three copies of Mackenzie's journal to be sent to him the earliest possible day. This request came from none other than the secretary of state of the United States, and later the third president, Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson was a leading exponent of the doctrine of manifest destiny. He hand-picked two men to arrange a sojourn to the Pacific northwest with the unspoken ambition of annexing as much land as possible. The two men were Meriweather Lewis and William Clark. Clark and Lewis, too, were furnished with Mackenzie's journal. The pair, often given credit for being the first to reach the far coast ahead of all others, were beaten by twelve years by Alexander Mackenzie. Still, several U.S. historians have written explicitly that the American pair were the first.

It is said there are no original copies of Mackenzie's journal extant, yet I suspect this is not the case. In 1797 the entire extensive library of Thomas Jefferson was sold to become the embryo of the gigantic Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. I have a hunch that a Canadian or a Scot let loose may find a copy there, or, alternatively, a thorough search of Monticello (Jefferson's former home) may uncover a copy of the journal under cover of maps in a drawer.

And that is the story of how a pair of American aces were trumped by a single Scottish-Canadian.

Douglas Reid lives on a small island in the Salish Sea off the west coast of British Columbia.

Alexander Mackenzie's final resting place at Avoch parish church, Scottish Highlands

SCOTTISH ghosts

Dr Martha McGill explores changing ideas about ghosts in Scotland since the middle ages, discovering that, from the medieval 'revenant' to the modern ghost tour, Scots have long sought truth, entertainment and comfort from the returning dead

In the 1470s, the chronicler Blind Harry compiled a history of one of Scotland's best known warriors: the 'valiant' William Wallace. He lauded Wallace's lineage, legacy and military escapades. And alongside the valorising, he included some more curious anecdotes. One was about Wallace's encounter with a ghost.

The story begins with Wallace and sixteen of his followers fleeing from an English army. They had not got far when one of the men, Fawdon, declares he is too tired to go any further. For Wallace, this is proof enough of treachery. He draws his sword and slices off Fawdon's head.

Wallace and his remaining followers proceed to their stronghold at Gask hall, Perthshire. But when they arrive, they hear blaring horns. Wallace sends two of his men out to investigate. They do not return. He dispatches two more men, and the same thing happens. Wallace then sends all the rest of his followers out, but the noise of the horns only increases. Finally he is forced to head outside himself. There he is greeted with a horrifying sight: Fawdon, risen from the dead, bearing his own decapitated head.

There follows a cartoonish fight. Fawdon hurls his head at Wallace; Wallace catches it and throws it back. Then the 'aghast' Wallace charges up some stairs, jumps down fifteen feet and runs away along a riverbank. As he glances back he thinks he sees Fawdon holding aloft a great rafter, having set the hall on fire.

The spectre of Fawdon was in the tradition of the medieval revenant.

Greyfriars kirkyard, Edinburgh: the stomping ground of Bluidy Mackenzie

Marley's ghost: a fragment of potato? E.A. Abbey, frontspiece to Charles Dickens' *Christmas Stories* (1876)

Revenants were akin to modern-day zombies: risen corpses that terrorised the living. Other Scottish stories told of dissolute men who emerged from their graves to harass their former mistresses, fight with knights or spread pestilence through communities. Some theologians speculated that revenants might be the genuine spirits of the dead. Others insisted that revenants were actually demons, animating or possessing the corpse. This was Blind Harry's theory on Fawdon. Recalling an idea found in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, he noted that demons had the right to possess those who had died as traitors.

It might be imagined that when a mysterious apparition was spreading plague or using its decapitated head as a missile, questions about its exact identity were of secondary importance. But determining whether or not dead souls could return was a prominent theological preoccupation, both in the medieval period and beyond. For Harry, identifying Fawdon as a demon demonstrated that Wallace had been quite right to think him a traitor and carry out the abrupt execution. Harry was more sympathetic to the idea of the returning dead if they served his interests: he also wrote of a monk who came back from purgatory to declare that he had seen Wallace progress to heaven, his murders decreed righteous.

Ghosts and the reformation

The European reformation broke out in 1517; Scotland became a protestant country in 1560. In an atmosphere of religious turmoil, the question of whether or not dead souls might return took on new significance. There is no decisive biblical evidence for ghosts. The most pertinent story is that of the witch of Endor. At the bidding of Saul, first king of Israel and Judah, the witch of Endor summoned the deceased prophet Samuel to give an account of a forthcoming battle. Samuel correctly predicted Saul's defeat and death. But witches were not to be trusted, and many theologians argued that Samuel could have been an apparition of the devil. Ghosts' religious legitimacy thus remained open to debate, and became a point of tension between catholics and protestants in the 16th century.

Catholic culture allowed for three possible locations after death: heaven, hell and the middle ground of purgatory. Most catholic theologians agreed that if the dead could return, they did so in the fashion of Harry's monk, from purgatory. Protestants rejected purgatory, with the 39 articles of the church of England terming it a 'fond thing vainly invented'. For most protestants, this also meant that the dead could not come back. Nobody would ever want to leave heaven, and nobody would ever be allowed to leave hell. Prominent 16th-century theologians, most notably the Swiss cleric Ludwig Lavater, argued that ghosts were deceptions. Sometimes they were tricks by the devil; sometimes hallucinations inspired by drunkenness or melancholy; sometimes pantomimes by fraudulent catholics. In Scotland, the sceptical position was reinforced by King James VI, who wrote in his 1597 *Daemonologie* that no good spirits had appeared on earth since biblical times.

This theological discourse changed the kinds of apparition stories that were recorded. Stories of haunted houses circulated – John Knox was among those said to have exorcised one – but the blame was usually placed on demons, and sometimes the witches who were thought to summon them. Very few stories of the returning dead survive from the century and a half following the reformation. People probably did tell stories of ghosts. Ballads recorded primarily in the 19th century hint that there was an established oral tradition of accounts of dead souls coming back, usually to reveal murders or tell their loved ones to stop grieving. But educated protestants were little inclined to write down ghost stories.

'Sure, 'tis a serious thing to die!' William Blake, title page design for Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1805)

Ghostly revival

In the late 17th century, however, ghosts had something of a revival. This was a period of rapid philosophical development. René Descartes divided the universe into mind and matter, a schema that – in some eyes – undermined spiritual entities. Even more controversial were Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza, who proposed more radically materialist visions of the universe. In this context, some theologians and philosophers began to worry that society would turn to atheism. Ghosts were valuable ammunition in the campaign against 'unbelief': they demonstrated the reality of separate souls and existence after death. In 1685, the Glasgow natural philosopher George Sinclair published a work colourfully entitled *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, which used stories of witches, ghosts and other supernatural entities to combat the supposed atheist threat. He wrote:

there are a monstrous rabble of men, who following the Hobbesian and Spinosian Principles, slight Religion, and undervalue the Scripture, because there is such an express mention of Spirits and Angels in it, which their thick and plumbeous [i.e. leaden] capacities cannot conceive. Whereupon they think, that all contained in the Universe comes under the notion of things material, and bodies only; and consequently, no God, no Devil, no Spirit, no Witch.

Admittedly, Sinclair's position seemed inconsistent. He told stories, largely copied from English works, in which ghosts returned with sound moral messages: they confirmed the reality of the afterlife, revealed murders or urged the living to donate money to the poor. But Sinclair also had doubts. Another of his stories concerned the apparition of a woman called Isobel Heriot, who was a servant to a minister, but lived and died 'ignorant of religion'. Her apparition returned to attack the minister and his household. Sinclair reflected that this spectre must be the devil, as Isobel's soul could not be brought back.

The prominent presbyterian minister Robert Wodrow simply avoided any theological theorising when he reported anti-atheist stories. In 1729 he recorded a case that was 'really believed at Edinburgh'. A girl sprained her arm in a dance at the Edinburgh Assembly, after which her health deteriorated rapidly. Her brother – a 'youth about seventeen, very rakish, and loose in principles' – tried to cheer her up with music and dancing. When the girl protested that she wished to remain serious to prepare for death, her brother scoffed, and declared: 'Girl, when thou dies, if there be anything in those dreams [of an afterlife], come back and tell me! I believe none of that priestcraft!' The girl died, and subsequently terrified her brother by returning to him, leaving him running 'like one distempered' to his father. Stories like this stood as a warning to those who might doubt the promises of scripture, or demonstrate too keen an appetite for dancing.

However, the attempt to marshal ghosts into an anti-atheist army was short-lived. By the mid-1730s, nobody as respectable as Sinclair or Wodrow was interested in publishing ghost stories. Enlightenment culture was by no means hostile to supernatural forces generally. David Hume proffered a scathing critique of miracles, but was roundly rebuked: most thinkers continued to stress the authority of scripture, which allowed for the possibility of supernatural intervention on earth. Ghosts, however, were dismissed as a superstition within high intellectual culture. Ghost belief was associated especially with women and the lower classes. Nurses and maidservants, who usually fell into both categories, were singled out for particular criticism. Writing in the 1790s, Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell declared that from the mid-century nurses were routinely turned away if they showed any inclination to poison their young charges' minds with stories of witches or ghosts.

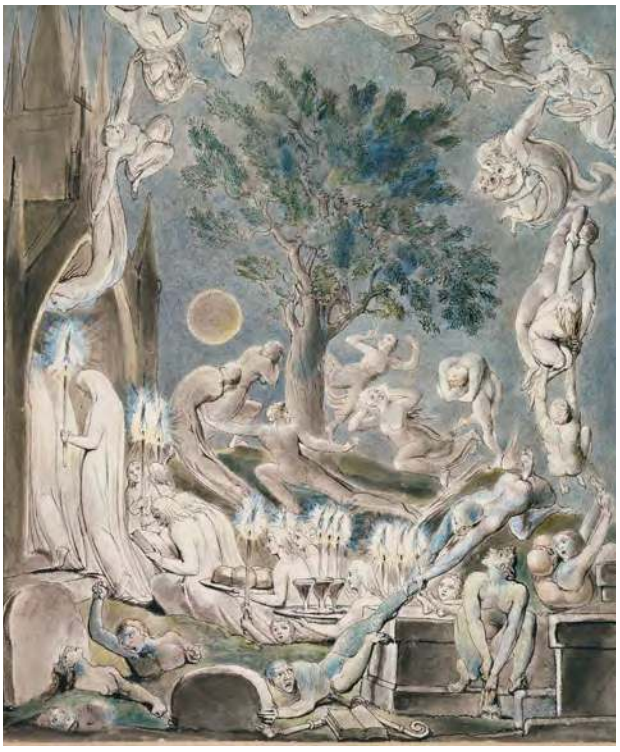
Determining whether or not dead souls could return was a prominent theological preoccupation, both in the medieval period and beyond

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the most common way to discredit ghost stories was to recast ghosts as demons. As the enlightenment progressed, there was a fresh emphasis on the idea that ghosts might be figments of the imagination, whether caused by temporary disturbances of the brain or tricks of the vision. Another possibility was that ghosts were all in the stomach. The Scottish physician David Brewster attributed one woman's 'spectral illusions' to 'a disordered state of the digestive organs'. This notion was memorably echoed in Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843), in which Ebenezer Scrooge declares to Marley's ghost: 'You may be an undigested bit of beef, a blot of mustard, a crumb of cheese, a fragment of an underdone potato. There's more of gravy than of grave about you, whatever you are!'

Gothic ghosts

Thus, there was a trend for ghosts to be naturalised and normalised. But there were also conflicting forces at play. 18th- and early-19th-century medical culture increasingly demystified death, and began to develop more complex – and recognisably modern – theories of mental illness. But at the same time, the rise of gothic and romantic literature encouraged an alternative worldview, in which madness and death became monstrous looming threats. Robert Blair's 1743 blank verse poem *The Grave* was one of the first Scottish works to exhibit gothic themes. It depicted 'grisly spectres' rising in 'grim array' from their graves and patrolling a gloomy churchyard. There is an atmosphere of melancholy, underlined by Blair's reflections on death:

Sure 'tis a serious thing to die!
My soul,
What a strange moment must it be
when, near
Thy journey's end, thou hast the gulf
in view!
That awful gulf no mortal e'er repass'd
To tell what's doing on the other side!
Nature runs back and shudders at the
sight,
And every life-string bleeds at thoughts
of parting!



The Gambols of Ghosts, William Blake, illustration for Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1805)

Robert Louis Stevenson's terrifying Thrawn Janet, etching by William Strang (1899)

Blair was himself a minister, but the ghosts in *The Grave* were starkly different from earlier ghosts who returned to confirm the existence of an afterlife, and looked and acted much as they had when alive.

Scottish gothic became more established in the 19th century. In 1829 Walter Scott published 'The Tapestried Chamber', sometimes described as the first modern ghost story. It featured a terrifying spectre with a corpse-like face, on which were 'imprinted the traces of the vilest and most hideous passions which had animated her while she lived'. With James Hogg's *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), the use of the mysterious spectral figure as a psychologised horror was born. Writers were beginning to recognise the curious pleasure that readers can derive from being afraid. In 1881, Robert Louis Stevenson took George Sinclair's story of Isobel Heriot, rewrote it in Scots, and added substantial dramatic flair to produce the spine-chilling 'Thrawn Janet'. 'Thrawn Janet' tells of a fictional minister, Murdoch Soulis, who is tormented by his former servant – a grinning corpse with her head twisted on to her shoulder.

The 'true' stories that were most often retold in this period were similarly theatrical, and often tugged at the heartstrings. Consider the tale of Pearlin Jean, which supposedly dated back to the 17th century, but was only widely circulated in the 19th. Jean, or Jeanne, was a Frenchwoman, possibly a nun. Robert Stuart, first baronet of the borders estate of Allanbank, went on a tour of Europe and seduced Jean in Paris. When he tried to leave without her she stepped in front of his coach, but Robert ordered the coachman to drive on. Jean fell under a wheel and was killed. When Robert returned to his mansion at Allanbank she was waiting for him, a bloodied spectre sitting atop the entrance archway.

Thereafter, the house was haunted. Jean tapped around the hallways in high-heeled shoes and rustling silk, and slammed doors in the middle of the night. She was seen in pearlin lace, presumably meant as wedding clothing. A group of seven ministers attempted to drive her away, but without success. Robert Stuart married, but the hauntings continued. At one point a portrait was made of Jean, and placed in between portraits of Robert Stuart and his wife. This seemed to appease the ghost, but was presumably less palatable to the wife. The portrait was removed, and Jean's troublemaking grew worse than ever. Accounts of the haunting outlived Robert: two ladies visiting around 1790 were disturbed by something walking backwards and forwards in their bedchamber at night. Jean was also memorialised in rhyme; the following scrap was recorded in 1856:

O Pearlin' Jean, O Pearlin' Jean,
She haunts the house, she haunts the green
And glowers on us a' wi' her wullcat e'en

Stories like this were not only emotive, but had in-built longevity. The stories told by George Sinclair and Robert Wodrow in the late 17th and early 18th centuries featured ghosts who returned for some specific business, and went back to their places of rest once that business was resolved. 19th-century stories were more usually about persistent hauntings, which posed a lingering threat to contemporary audiences.

Other important developments in this period were the rise of romantic literature and the development of folklore. A crucial starting point was the publication of the Ossian poetry, which began in the 1760s. The poetry was supposedly discovered and translated by James Macpherson of Ruthven, Badenoch. Macpherson claimed that the poems were the work of a legendary bard called Ossian, and demonstrated the existence of a Celtic civilisation on par with ancient Greece and Rome. Modern scholars agree that the poems were in fact composed by Macpherson himself, based on Gaelic and Irish ballads. In the 18th and early 19th centuries some public figures questioned the authenticity of the poetry, but this did not prevent it from becoming an international sensation, with Napoleon a particularly keen fan. In the Ossian poetry, ghosts 'fly on clouds and ride on wind'. Sometimes they pick fights with the living. The ghosts of ancient heroes also appear to their descendants to foretell the future. In the early 19th century there was a surge in folklorists investigating highland beliefs, and the ghost stories they recorded frequently recalled the Ossianic template of warrior ghosts. In 1823, the writer William Grant Stewart declared that 'the ancient race of Highland ghosts were a set of stout, lusty, sociable ghosts', quite unlike the modern-day 'puny, green, worm-eaten effigies'. These

As the enlightenment progressed, there was a fresh emphasis on the idea that ghosts might be figments of the imagination, whether caused by temporary disturbances of the brain or tricks of vision

ghosts were corporeal in nature: a spectre would 'do as much justice to a bicker of Highland crowdie as his earthly contemporaries'.

Walter Scott was among those writers who showed a keen interest in highland ghosts. One of the memorable characters he investigated was Lham Dearg, the 'ghost of the bloody hand'. Lham Dearg haunted the woods of Glenmore and Rothiemurchus, dressed in armour, and did battle with passing travellers. As his epithet suggested, one of his hands was coated in blood. Another story concerned Hugh (or Ewen; the Gaelic was 'Eoghan') of the Little Head, who not only had a tiny head but also rode a very small horse. Hugh was from the Maclaine clan of Lochbuie, Mull, and possibly lived during the reign of James IV (1488-1513). One day he met with a 'weird woman' who told him that if his wife voluntarily made him breakfast next day, he would be victorious in battle. If he had to call for his breakfast he would be killed. His negligent wife failed the trial, and Hugh died. He was said to appear to his descendants and ride around their house, rattling chains. He would also show up at their deathbeds to escort their spirits to the afterlife.

In these stories, ghosts were associated with highland stereotypes: they were primitive, warlike and tied by bonds of clanship. It is also notable that in the stories recorded by 19th-century folklorists, ghosts usually haunted places – castles, ruins, local landscapes. In earlier accounts, ghosts more usually haunted people. This was a period when Scotland was developing a more distinctive cultural identity, with tartan and highland soldiers proving marketable commodities. Ghost stories became expressions of local or national identity – even tourist attractions. Writers depicted Scotland as being particularly prone to hauntings (a claim that is also made of various other countries or localities). An 1842 magazine article declared:

Were we seriously asked what part of Christendom, whether in remoter ages or comparatively modern times, was most troubled with supernatural horrors, we should without doubt or hesitation, answer, 'Scotland'.

It added that when it came to ghosts, the 'best known and most widely diffused of all the spectral race', Scotland had more than any other part of Europe, and probably more than half of Europe put together. Writing in 1869, 'A Scoto-Celt' asserted that 'Every Scotchman believes in ghosts… The ghost steals on us from the mountain, the lake, the mist, the forest, the glen. Indeed, the ghost is the exclusive property of the Celtic race'. Being 'gaunt and bony', the Scotsman could '[hail] the ghost as a man and brother'. The English, he added, were too fat for ghosts.

Modern ghosts

Of course, these accounts were tongue-in-cheek. 19th-century authors might record ghost stories, but they were often careful to underline that only the vulgar actually believed that the dead could return. Nevertheless, there remained men and women who credited ghost stories at all levels of society. The spiritualist movement played a particularly important role in perpetuating ghost belief. The movement kicked off in the United States in the mid-19th century, when the Fox sisters began holding shows in which alleged spirits communicated through knocking noises. A Scottish commentator wrote in 1853:

Very few stories of the returning dead survive from the century and a half following the reformation

Our national pride revolts at the idea that America should, in modern times, unveil the unseen world, to which we have a prescriptive right. We shall insist on having decided 'rappings' in Edinburgh as well as in New York, else we must hold that we are scurvily treated by the shades of our departed friends.

Sure enough, séances were soon attracting fashionable audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

Commentary in published texts was most usually sceptical.

Ossian Evoking Ghosts on the Edge of the Lora, by François Pascal Simon Gérard (1801)

Even the Society for Psychical Research, founded in London in 1882 with the aim of investigating spiritual phenomena in an open-minded manner, ended up largely debunking fraudulent claims. Nevertheless, the possibility of brushes with the invisible world – and contact with departed relatives – continued to attract audiences, and the Scot Daniel Dunglas Home became famed as a medium.

Surges of interest in the spiritualist industry coincided with the world wars, but ghost belief has proved enduring even in peacetime. Recent polls have suggested that between 30 and 40 per cent of British adults believe in ghosts, a marked increase from 10 to 20 per cent in the 1950s. Doubtless, an important factor here is the rise of the horror genre in film and TV. Horror shows popularise sinister spectres and capitalise on the pleasures of fear, just as did gothic literature when it emerged.

Meanwhile, ghost tours continue the tradition of using ghosts to lure in tourists. In Edinburgh, a particularly popular story is that of the 17th-century lawyer George Mackenzie, whose vigorous prosecution of covenanters made him an object of opprobrium locally. His elaborate mausoleum stands in Greyfriars kirkyard. In 1847 Robert Chambers wrote that the tomb was an 'object of horror' to the citizens of Edinburgh, 'as it was almost universally believed that the sprite of the persecutor could get no rest in its superb but gloomy tenement'. Nowadays, 'Bluidy Mackenzie' is still accused of prowling the kirkyard at night and launching assaults on passers-by. The use of history is important here: 'Bluidy Mackenzie' becomes more than a cheap thrill when he stands as a representative of a murky Scottish past. Ghost stories offer a means to revisit not only people who have gone, but also past worlds, frequently envisaged as more romantic than the present.

Ghosts have proved tremendously persistent, and have served a wide variety of functions over time. For theologians, ghost stories raised important questions about the state of departed souls, and the kinds of supernatural intervention permitted by God. For 18th- and 19th-century physicians, explaining ghost sightings was a way of better understanding the workings of the eyes and mind. For gothic writers, ghosts were a powerful force that made familiar landscapes uncanny. Ghosts are also used to market a certain vision of Scottishness. Most simply, ghost stories have consistently offered comfort to people struggling with losing loved ones. The finality of death is difficult to think about; ghosts instead symbolise the lingering power and influence of past upon present.

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FURTHER READING

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AT THE HEART OF HIGHLAND GAMES

Neil McLennan pays a visit to Braemar, where a new visitor centre and archive explores the rich history of almost two centuries of highland games

In 2017 we brought one of our *History Scotland* podcasts to listeners from the Braemar Gathering, the penultimate event in the highland games season. There we interviewed Gathering stalwart and former secretary of the games Willie Meston and well kent voice of the games and wider Scottish culture, Robbie Shepherd. This podcast has been downloaded thousands of times by listeners across the globe since it was uploaded.

At the time of those interviews we heard about plans for a new visitor centre at the Braemar Highland Games ground. In September 2018, that centre was opened by Her Majesty the Queen. It is housed in the Duke of Rothesay Highland Games Pavilion, the building named in honour of HRH Prince Charles, a keen supporter of the project through his charity The Prince's Foundation.

The Braemar Highland Games Centre has been open to visitors since March 2019 and at this year's Braemar Gathering, attendees got a glimpse of what is inside. The centre incorporates a café, shop, exhibition hall, gallery and also the archives. It is a rich source for anyone interested in the history of the highland games and also the origins of the Gathering.

The history of the Gathering is a rich one. The Braemar Gathering has been a highlight of the Scottish sporting calendar since at least 1832, although the games reputedly date back to the 11th century and the reign of Malcolm III.

Supporting those in need

Back in Braemar, a friendly society was formed in 1815 to sustain communities after the Napoleonic wars. My recent visit to Dufftown is another example of the significant impact of those wars and how Scottish society adapted

to support those returning home. My recent work with the Royal Caledonian Education Trust (RCET) is another example of a philanthropic venture established to support those impacted by war. RCET owes its origins to members of the Highland Society of London who, in 1808, raised funds to house and educate Scots children orphaned by the Napoleonic wars.

In Braemar, the Braemar Wright Society was founded six months to the day after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Entrants paid 10/- initially and then 1/- a quarter. In return they received annuity on reaching the age of 70, sickness, death benefit and a widow's allowance. This continues to the present day, with members, widows and orphans still receiving an annuity.

In 1826 the name of the society changed to the Braemar Royal Highland Society and in 1832 they decided to pay £5 for prizes at the Gathering. From that time on the Highland Society organised the Braemar Gathering. In 1848 Queen Victoria attended the Gathering at Invercauld house and interest continued and grew. In 1866, the title 'Royal' was added to the name of the society.

The podcast showed that the games are far more than just a sporting occasion. A community spirit and support mechanism sit behind the event and this operates all year around. The visitor centre helps to tell that story of the societal impact in the area.

Archive material

The Braemar Royal Highland Society archive itself is quite astonishing and its oldest documents date back to 1816. Highlights include a minute book from 1819; membership and subscription lists dating back to the 1820s; and prize lists from 1832. A complete set of Gathering books from 1924 and correspondence relating to the games all help tell the story of a great Scottish tradition and are sure to interest researchers on the topics of Scottish sport, culture and music as well as those researching royalty or friendly and mutual benefit societies. Appointments can be made in advance and charges may apply. Researchers are recommended to contact the centre before visiting as some material may be closed for data protection or confidentiality reasons.

The exhibition space has a number of objects, photographs, documents and a display of costumes which explore both the history of the highland games and the unique story of the Braemar Highland Gathering and the organisation behind it, The Braemar Royal Highland Society (BRHS). The displays are spread between three rooms. First is the Milne gallery, telling the story of the highland games through display boards and photos of athletes past and present. Trophy cabinets display the winnings of those competitors. The Kaufman hall is the heart of the centre with an impressive ceiling decoration and items from the collection of The Scottish Tartans Authority alongside private sources telling the story of how Braemar became the most famous highland games in the world. Finally, the Baxter room features BRHS activity including the honour boards listing past presidents and office bearers back to the first president, William Farquharson of Monaltrie.

Listen to Neil's Braemar Gathering podcast: http://scot.sh/his-podcast (episode 26)

Historic hotels

One of my favourite years at the Gathering saw us stay at the **Deeside Inn, Ballater**. It retains many Victorian features such as wooden panelling and wooden beams, and has a cosy log fire which is just great for relaxing alongside the night before or after the Gathering. During my last visit in 2017 we had a great conversation with Ian Hislop who was filming the Gathering as part of his exploration of the UK to understand our obsession with the past!

Craigendarroch also remains a favourite for around games weekend. Diana, Princess of Wales was a frequent visitor at the hotel's pool when up at Balmoral, taking the young Princes William and Harry swimming there. The original house has a great story behind it, having sat on territory of Clan Gordon and the estates being owned by a long succession of clan chieftains. It was said that Queen Victoria almost bought the grouse moor, however the price was too high.

Fife Arms Hotel, Braemar
There has been much attention given to this hotel recently, especially after it won *Sunday Times* hotel of the year. Blending the past with modern art, it has certainly sparked interest. A must-see is the picture gallery of past and present 'greats' of the local area. One of those is renowned fiddler Paul Anderson, whose composition *Winning the Peace* was created to commemorate medics of the First World War and will be played at the #iPlay4Peace international cooperation concert.

Invercauld Arms
I always enjoy watching the pipe band set off from the Invercauld on Gathering day. The house dates back to a coach house there in 1645. In 1715 a historic Gathering took place at the site of the Invercauld Arms when the Standard for James VIII and III was raised by John Erskine, the earl of Mar, Scottish peer and former secretary of state for Scotland. A hunt followed, completed by brandy and entertainment for guests. However, it was said that the gilt ball fell from the flag pole. It was perhaps an omen for the eventual failure of the Jacobite cause.

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Edited by Dr Martha McGill
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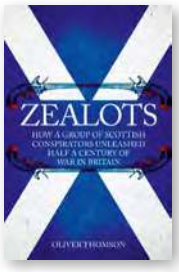
Riots, rebels and radicals

Joe Setch discusses a dramatic account of religious warfare in 17th-century Scotland



Zealots: How a Group of Scottish Conspirators Unleashed Half a Century of War in Britain
By Oliver Thomson
Amberley Publishing, 2018. 304 pages, £20.00, ISBN: 9781445677958

With riots, rebels and radicals in force from the very first page, it quickly becomes clear that there will be no shortage of excitement in *Zealots*, an energetic exploration of war and faith in 17th-century Scotland. Author Oliver Thomson shines a light on the murkiest moments of this all-too-overlooked era, diving into the bloodshed and backstabbing that plagued the nation as it endured not only the British civil wars, but also the decades of religious persecution – including the aptly named 'killing times' – that followed.

The opening premise of *Zealots* is Thomson's observation that these conflicts can be traced back to the actions of a small but powerful group from Fife, a close-knit community of ambitious lairds, talented mercenaries and charismatic preachers who found common cause in their opposition to the heavy-handed policies of Charles I. The book's early chapters are devoted to descriptions of these men, members of what Thomson dubs the 'first Fife conspiracy'. These biographies reveal a complex web of friendships and family ties, and underscore in compelling detail the perfect storm of personalities that steered Scotland and its armies through early triumphs and on towards the brink of ruin.

But instead of delving deeper into the ambitions of these plotters and the substance of their scheming, Thomson shifts to the fallout of the conspiracy as he launches into a broad-strokes breakdown of Scotland's place in the civil wars saga. The author excels as a storyteller in his handling of this complex struggle, delivering a fast-paced and thrilling account that revels in the most shocking moments of the wars: chapters are dominated by high-stakes battles, action-packed escapades, and the lives of leading figures such as King Charles and the marquis of Montrose.

While Thomson delivers an entertaining introduction to these chaotic years, his pursuit of the bigger picture also has its limitations. The Fife conspirators are quickly cast into the margins, their unique perspective as the architects of a revolution left unexplored as *Zealots* falls back upon more conventional narratives to explain Scotland's bitter slide into factionalism, failure, and defeat at the hands of Oliver Cromwell's English commonwealth.

Fast forward a few years, and it is time to press the reset button. The second part of *Zealots* opens with the return of the monarchy in 1660. The unresolved tensions of earlier decades once again threaten to spark violence. The idea of the 'Fife conspiracy' makes another appearance, this time in the guise of a plot hatched by religious radicals who set their swords upon archbishop James Sharp as he travelled home on the road to St Andrews.

Thomson does not dwell long on this grisly assassination, using it only as an introduction to broader themes of state-sponsored repression and armed resistance in Scotland in the later 1600s. The brisk pace that Thomson mastered in his appraisal of the civil wars returns, but this time without its punchy appeal: 30 years of uprisings and atrocities are crammed into 50 pages, resulting in a muddle of names and places that come and go with little consequence.

This brevity would feel like a race to the finish line, if only the destination were clear. Instead, *Zealots* simply runs out of steam. After indicating that the conflicts sparked by the first Fife conspiracy had yet to be resolved by the end of the 17th century, Thomson closes his book with a one-page chapter on the rise of the Jacobites. It is an ambiguous end that leaves much unsaid, conjuring up vivid images of a nation left irredeemably divided, but offering little sense of why.

> ***Chapters are dominated by high-stakes battles, action-packed escapades, and the lives of leading figures such as King Charles and the marquis of Montrose***

Falling short of its bold claims to be an 'innovative' and 'controversial' account of this fascinating topic, the book ultimately offers its readers few fresh insights into either the causes and consequences of the conflict, or the experiences of those who fought and suffered for their religious and political beliefs. Those wishing to dig deeper into Thomson's claims are also hindered by a limited bibliography and the absence of references throughout. The author's desire to focus on Fife is commendable, and he is right to recognise the political potency of this corner of Scotland in the 17th century. But in drawing heavily upon existing research on the topic, *Zealots* feels more like an interesting assemblage of facts than a considered history of the period.

Joe Setch completed his M.Litt. in Early Modern History in 2018. Particularly drawn to the history of emotions and everyday experiences, he wrote his dissertation on the turbulent world of religious weeping in 17th-century Scotland.

Orkney tales

Laura Cowan enjoys a wide-ranging introduction to Orkney's history and culture

Orkney in a Hundred and One Tales
By Bryce Wilson
The Orcadian, 2018
236 pages, £22.99
ISBN: 9781902957982

This is a lovely book containing many snippets of Orkney life. Orkney has a rich and varied history, and Wilson guides the reader through thousands of years. The book is clearly laid out and easy to navigate. Each chapter is beautifully written, and superb photos and paintings provide an insight into Orcadian culture. Poems throughout the book further immerse the reader.

The book describes Orkney's historic sites, including the wonderful neolithic village of Skara Brae, revealed in the 19th century after a bad storm. Skara Brae's stone remnants demonstrate how people lived on the island several millennia ago. Wilson goes on to explore Orkney's flora and fauna, highlighting flowers and mammals that are unique to this part of the world.

The book covers the basics of human history. Impressive communal tombs were normal during the stone age, but gradually gave way to bronze age cremations and simple lined graves. Relatively few bronze age burial sites have been found on Orkney. However, over 200 iron age brochs can be found on the islands.

Vikings played a large part in Orkney's history, arriving as pirates in the 8th century, and subsequently overcoming the native Picts. Some Viking burials have been found. Important people were buried with ships, silver and any items that they might need in the afterlife.

Links with Norway are also historically important. Orkney was a Norwegian territory from 875, and was ruled by powerful jarls. Its strategically valuable position meant that it became the site of various battles, although the islands finally changed hands in peaceful circumstances: Margaret of Denmark married James III of Scotland in 1469, and in 1472 Orkney was ceded to Scotland as payment towards her dowry.

Orkney folk tales and legends were traditionally passed down from generation to generation; many a cold night was spent by a roaring fire, and local stories became famous.

In the 18th century, farmhouses were dark and small with a fire in the centre. The environment was smoky, and people lived in close proximity to animals. Orcadians used local materials to make their homes more comfortable. Furniture and baskets were woven from straw, for example. Many men were employed far away in the whaling industry. The herring industry also flourished, as did kelp and linen weaving.

The world wars played a big part in Orkney's history. The naval base at Scapa Flow saw the scuttling of the German fleet during World War I, and the sinking of the HMS *Royal Oak* during World War II. The latter event resulted in hundreds of deaths. A memorial was built, and the wreck is protected as a war grave. Thousands of service personnel were stationed on Orkney during the wars, greatly swelling the local population, with some servicemen marrying and staying on the islands permanently.

Egg farming was an important industry in the 1950s and 1960s, but the Scottish mainland soon took over and employment from egg farming subsided. The 1970s saw the birth of a new industry with the construction of a major oil terminal on the island of Flotta. Sheep and cattle farming have continuously contributed to the Orcadian economy, although Orkney was hit hard by restrictions on exports following the 2001 outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease (despite not suffering any outbreaks). However, tourism is now central to Orkney's economy, and recent years have seen the proliferation of cruise ships stopping at the largest island, Mainland.

Covering these topics and more, each chapter of this book provides a lovely insight into Orkney life. However, just as you are getting interested in a chapter, it stops all too quickly and the next chapter starts on a different topic. A couple more pages per chapter would have improved the book. Nevertheless, this is an impressive work showcasing Orkney's rich history, and is set out for anyone to read and enjoy. The book moves between Vikings, earls, pirates, shipwrecks, industries and wars very smoothly and is a must for anyone with an interest in Scottish history.

Laura Cowan is a mum of four and has a degree in tourism management. She owns and runs seven holiday cottages on the Caerlaverock Nature Reserve and surrounding area, and has a great interest in reading, wildlife and Scottish history.

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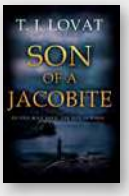

Son of a Jacobite
By T. J. Lovat
Troubador, £12
ISBN 9781838591823
Historical fiction set in the years following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. The devastation of the battle and the Highland Clearances that followed will have a profound effect on the book's hero, Thomas Lovat.

The Viking Isles: Travels in Orkney & Shetland
By Paul Murton
Birlinn, £15.08
ISBN 9781780275802
A personal account of TV presenter Paul Murton's travels in the Viking north. Full of observation, history, anecdote and encounters with those who live there, the book also serves as a practical guide to the many places of interest.

The Scottish Enlightenment & the French Revolution
By Anna Plassart
Cambridge University Press, £19.99
ISBN 9781107464568
The Scottish Enlightenment recovers a 'forgotten commentary' on the French revolution and argues that this commentary is both a major intellectual discussion in its own right and essential to our understanding of how enlightenment philosophy and the heritage of Adam Smith were reinterpreted for post-revolutionary Europe.

A unique archive: The Bowerbank collection

Jennifer Morag Henderson introduces a unique collection of Jacobite memorabilia, put together by a gin heiress whose interest in the Jacobites took her on a tour of Europe, gathering material on the exiled Stuarts, whose story had fascinated her since childhood

A cabinet miniature of Flora Macdonald from the Bowerbank collection – this is on permanent display in Inverness Museum

Inverness Museum and Art Gallery has recently obtained a grant to work on their decorative arts and Jacobite collections and as part of this are hoping to open up their important Bowerbank collection, with plans for digitisation. They believe the Edwardian collection has resonance in today's social media age, demonstrating the wide-ranging and long-lasting interest in the Jacobites that still exists today.

The Bowerbank collection was donated to Inverness Museum in 1910 by Emilie May Bowerbank, a gin heiress from London. Made up mainly of portraits, medals and engravings, but also including diverse items such as a tartan shawl, a buckle found on Culloden battlefield, and a pendant and brooch from the shadowy 'Society of the White Rose', the collection was the personal and idiosyncratic joy of one woman who had become fascinated with the doomed romantic appeal of the Stuarts. The items themselves are of historical significance, and Inverness Museum, in its infancy at the time the collection was donated, noted that this was 'the first bequest of any magnitude to the Museum… Now they had a Museum not unworthy of the town of Inverness'. Indeed, the insurance on the museum had to be increased to reflect the value of the paintings donated. However, one of the particularly appealing things about the collection is the story behind it, and the way the personality of the collector, Emilie May Bowerbank, shines through.

Portrait of Emilie May Bowerbank

When Emilie May first contacted Inverness Museum, she stipulated that the Bowerbank collection must be kept together – and that, especially, 'no Hanoverian relics be mixed up with them'. She had been fascinated by the Stuarts since she was a child, and as she grew older had taken every opportunity to collect anything connected with them. The somewhat sad circumstances of her life had given her many of these opportunities, as she travelled in Britain and then, like the Stuarts, in exile on the continent.

In a postscript to the letter offering the valuable donation, she impressed on the museum staff the need for them to make a quick decision on whether or not to accept her gift – because 'I am in very bad health'.

Emilie May was not an old woman when she wrote this: she was only 46. She had been suddenly taken ill, and had to decide quickly what to do with her treasures. Inverness Museum nearly missed out on the opportunity – the trustees and honorary curators of the museum held a special meeting as soon as they received Emilie May's letter, and unanimously agreed to accept her donation, immediately sending

a telegram to let her know, but the telegram arrived too late: Emilie May died in February 1910 of heart failure, probably brought on by cancer, without leaving a will.

Fortunately for the museum, Emilie May's devoted mother Elizabeth was soon back in touch to make the arrangements for the donation. Museum staff worked quickly to put together an exhibition and as part of this, asked Elizabeth for a biography of the woman who had donated all these Jacobite treasures. Who was Emilie May Bowerbank, they asked, and why had she decided to leave her collection to Inverness? Elizabeth wrote back to say that she and her daughter had visited Inverness on their travels, where they had been received with 'polite attention' at the museum, and shown 'courtesy' from 'The Mackintosh' of Moy, and that 'the happy time they spent in Inverness, after tracing Prince Charlie's wandering in the Highlands, and the warm and loyal attachment shown there to the cause of the Stuarts' had convinced Emilie May to donate her collection. As for writing a short biography of Emilie May, well, her mother said, 'I find it a difficult task… as her life was very uneventful'.

This wasn't quite true. Emilie May had had a privileged and happy childhood, but as a young woman she and her mother had faced family challenges which her relatives were now careful to cover up.

Who was Emilie May Bowerbank?

Emilie May was the eldest daughter of Elizabeth and Edward Bowerbank. Her mother Elizabeth was from a Yorkshire family, while her father came from a family of distillers, and was now joint head, with his brother James, of the family firm Bowerbank & Co., which produced gin. The Bowerbank family gin distillery was successful enough for the brothers to be able to pursue their own interests outside of distilling, and James Bowerbank became a noted amateur naturalist and palaeontologist, collecting many important geological specimens; collecting obviously ran in the Bowerbank family. Meanwhile, Edward Bowerbank married Elizabeth. They had two children, first a son, Edward junior, and then, ten years later, Emilie May.

Emilie May had a privileged upbringing – on the 1871 census, her father had two live-in servants. And she seems to have been a happy, cheerful child as well: census records usually only record the dry details of people's lives – Emilie May's father was 41 years old, his son was working as a clerk – but the record for Emilie May stands out: under 'occupation' the seven-year-old is noted as 'chatterbox'!

Something went seriously wrong in the family, however, as only three years later Emilie May's mother Elizabeth petitioned for divorce.

Divorce in England in the 1870s was not common: according to data from the Office of National Statistics published in the *Guardian*, only 194 couples divorced in 1874 (compared to over 100,000 in 2012). It was not easy for a woman to get a divorce – the only real ground that could be given was adultery, and there was no guarantee that the mother would be granted custody of their children. Emilie May's brother was 21, so now an adult, but there was a real possibility that, by asking for a divorce, Elizabeth could have been separated permanently from eleven-year-old Emilie May. Although Elizabeth came from a well-off background, she would also be giving up a wealthy lifestyle by leaving her husband, and the stigma of divorce would probably mean that she would also be cut off from her social circle. For Emilie May, this meant her chances of making a 'good' marriage would be reduced, and indeed she was to remain single.

Asking for a divorce was a drastic step – but Elizabeth felt it was necessary: since they had married, Edward Bowerbank's personality had changed. It seems the head of the gin distillery had been sampling his firm's wares a little too much, and he had 'given way to habits of intemperance'. Not only that, but, although 'naturally of a kind disposition', his 'whole character

The pendant of the Society of the White Rose, which carries a portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart

changed when under the influence of drink', and he had become violent towards his family. The court was easily convinced to pronounce a *decree nisi* and Emilie May's parents were divorced.

A few years after the divorce, Elizabeth and her daughter Emilie May were living quietly in London together, subsisting on an annuity. They still had enough money to have one live-in servant, but their circumstances were about to change again, for in 1883, Emilie May's father died. From then on, there seems to have been no reference to the divorce: in her correspondence with Inverness Museum Elizabeth only told people that she was a widow, and that Emilie May's father was dead. Later Bowerbank relatives who corresponded with the museum also seemed to have no knowledge of the divorce, and only said that once Elizabeth was widowed, she and her daughter decided to travel.

Elizabeth and Emilie May had presumably been left some of the Bowerbank gin money. It was far more socially acceptable to be a widow, but since Elizabeth had actually been a divorcée for over a decade, she would have to go somewhere she was not known in order to do present herself this way. Elizabeth and Emilie May decided to go to Europe.

Record of a European tour

With their legacy from the gin distillery, the mother and daughter were now able to travel in luxury, and one descendant recalls that they toured in a 'private carriage'. They visited France and Italy, and Emilie May began to focus on her long-held fascination with the Stuarts, who, like her, had been forced out of their wealthy, privileged and happy lives and had ended up in exile on the continent. Emilie May became a member of the White Rose Society, a monarchist Stuart society that began in 1886 and held a popular exhibition on the Stuarts in 1889, and which also attracted several literary and artistic figures of the day, such as James McNeill Whistler, drawn by the romanticism of the Stuarts' doomed stories. The society lasted until World War I.

Emilie May started to keep a scrapbook, carefully slotting into it postcards of the places they visited. Each site was connected in some way with the royal Stuarts – places they had stayed in or visited when they were in exile, such as Rome, Avignon and St Germain. Emilie May eventually curated two scrapbooks, *The Stuart Book* and *The Book of Places,* and in addition collected engravings, miniatures and paintings depicting scenes in the life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Mary Queen of Scots, Charles I and others.

She was able to view private letters that they had written, and carefully copied them out, tracing the letters in a facsimile of their handwriting. Her scrapbooks contain a wealth of information, from her own notes and photographs of locations, to maps showing routes taken. They are both a personal record of Emilie May's own life and travels, and the beginnings of the detailed notes of a scholar and researcher, which Inverness Museum later realised could be used by others in many different ways.

Emilie May's travelling and collecting ended abruptly in 1909. She was suddenly taken ill and her mother hurried her back to England. It was then that Emilie May wrote to Inverness museum offering to donate her collection. After Emilie May's death, her mother Elizabeth had some difficulty sorting out her belongings, as the illness had been so sudden and their return home so rushed – some of her daughter's Jacobite collection, she wrote to the museum, had been packed very rapidly and there had been damage to picture frames, while Elizabeth could no longer identify everything or give all the details that her daughter would have been able to.

Emilie May was a rich woman when she died, leaving the equivalent of £900,000 in today's money. Although she had not had time to make a will, her family did their best to satisfy her wishes with regards to her collection of Jacobite relics, and made all the arrangements to send them to Inverness.

A spread from one of Emilie May's two scrapbooks – from *The Book of Places*, showing Culloden

The collection goes on display

The original exhibition of the Bowerbank collection was opened in Inverness on 20 September 1910, with the provost and the Mackintosh of Mackintosh giving speeches. Most recently, Inverness Museum held a one-day exhibition on Emilie May, *The Last Female Jacobite*, in 2013 – and a special showing of Emilie May's scrapbooks was given to members of a local *Outlander* fan group, who quickly saw parallels between Emilie May's work and the way they viewed Jacobite sites and recorded those visits. Kari Moodie, collections curator from Inverness Museum, points out that 'the [Bowerbank] collection chimes with the way we use social media and websites to record our travels and interests today'.

Interest in Jacobite material remains high, and in April this year, Culloden battlefield saw the commemoration event hosted by the Gaelic Society of Inverness which marked the defeat of the Jacobite forces in 1746. From an annual event which 20 years ago used to attract a dozen or so people, it has morphed into a spectacle that can attract up to 1,000 people walking in procession from the visitor centre to the memorial cairn. Many of the attendees come in period costume, many carry flags, there is a motorbike group who regularly attend, clan societies turn out, *Outlander* fans make an appearance and people travel long distances from the US and other countries, joining a hardcore of locals.

Discussion around the event has focused on topics as varied as the fight to stop homes being built on the edge of the battlefield, Gaelic presence in the media, Scottish independence, and a new idea to try and seek UNESCO world heritage status for the site. It's clear that people have many reasons for attending the commemoration – in the same way that the Jacobite cause has always attracted many different people for many different reasons. Emilie May was just one of those attracted to the Jacobite cause, but her financial situation enabled her to put together a valuable collection, and her generosity in donating benefits visitors even today.

A double page spread from *The Stuart Book*

The original exhibition of the Bowerbank material from the Minute Book of Inverness Museum

Many of the items Emilie May donated are still on display today in Inverness Museum, and with new funding from the Esmée Fairburn Collections Fund, administered by the Museums Association, Inverness Museum plan to digitise the Bowerbank scrapbooks for their ongoing project 'Symbols, Secrecy and Highland Identity'. Curator Kari Moodie adds: 'for us, the most interesting aspect of the Bowerbank collection is that it was collected by an Edwardian lady, from all over the UK and Europe. This shows that even 150 years after the last rebellion, interest in the Jacobites was still current and widespread' – and that interest continues today.

Jennifer Morag Henderson's biography 'Josephine Tey: A Life' was listed as one of the best books of the year in the Observer, Independent and Telegraph. She is currently working on a historical biography, and more details can be found at www.jennifermoraghenderson.com

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DISPLAY

Links with the Past, until 15 March
This new display reveals details of the life and death of a Pictish man who was buried in a long cist at Lundin links near Largo in Fife. Part of of a partnership project between the McManus and the Forensic Anthropology Research group of the Universities of Edinburgh and Dundee.
Dundee McManus, Albert Square, Meadowside, Dundee DD1 1DA; tel: 01382 307200; website: www.mcmanus.co.uk

TALK

Dundee & the Russian Convoys, 27 February
Learn about the ships and sailors who kept vital supply routes open during the Second World War, at this talk to coincide with the start of a new Russian Convoy exhibition. During the talk you'll hear stories of the ships and sailors of World War II who sailed the seas of Northern Europe and kept open supply routes open. Starts 12.30pm.
HMS *Unicorn*, South Victoria Dock Road, Victoria Dock, Dundee DD1 3BP; tel: 01382 200900; e-mail: enquiries@hmsunicorn.org.uk; website: www.frigateunicorn.org

TALK

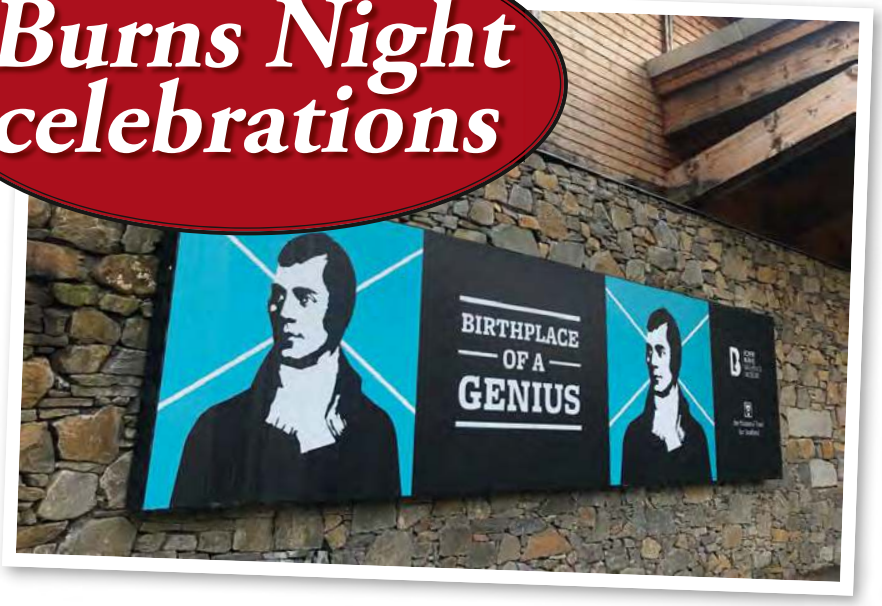
Old Glasgow Through the Lens, 5 February
An evening with Douglas Annan enjoying a look at bygone Glasgow as seen through photographs of the past. Runs 7.30pm to 9pm.
Loch Ard Local History Group, Kinlochard Village Hall, Kinlochard FK8 3TL; tel: 01877 387201

LECTURE

Living on Water: An early iron age loch dwelling on Loch Tay, 4 February
The February meetings of the First Millennia Studies Group comprises a talk by Michael Stratigos on recent findings relating to an archaeological project studying dwellings at loch Tay. Starts 6pm.
Appleton Tower, Lecture Theatre 2, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9LE; website: https://firstmillennia.wordpress.com

DIARY DATES

Burns Night celebrations



Communities in all corners of the globe will be celebrating Burns Night on 25 January, paying tribute to the life and work of Robert Burns

We begin with the **Robert Burns Birthplace Museum** in Alloway, where visitors are invited to celebrate Burns Day in the birthplace of the Bard, on 25 January. Enjoy exploring the museum and take part in a series of carnival games with a fun Scottish twist. Listen to live traditional music and take part in the challenges. That evening, a ticketed ceilidh will see guests enjoy live music and dancing, plus haggis, neeps & tatties! The following day, enjoy a Burns brunch whilst listening to live performances. All events can be booked here: https://scot.sh/hsburns

If you're in the capital, head over to **Edinburgh castle** for 'Burns for Beginners', a light-hearted introduction to the bard and his work, with audience participation 'highly encouraged!'. Performances from 25 to 31 January. Nearby, **RMY *Britannia*** is hosting a Burns supper on 24 and 25 January, with a four-course dinner served in the state dining room, followed by whisky tasting.

Have fun and benefit a good cause with themed events a**t Prestonfield house** in Edinburgh and **Ayr Gaiety theatre**, both of whom are hosting a Burns Supper. And 'Scotland's biggest Burns Night' returns to Dumfries, with 150 shows and more than 300 artists. Details at: http://bigburnssupper.com

TAP TO WATCH

Preview video for A Life in Drawing:

Leonardo da Vinci, *A Design For An Equestrian Monument*, *c.*1485-88

***Leonardo da Vinci: A Life in Drawing*, until 15 March 2020**

Marking the 500th anniversary of the death of Leonardo da Vinci, *A Life in Drawing* brings together 80 of the artist's greatest drawings in the Royal Collection, forming the largest group of Leonardo's works ever shown in Scotland.

Acquired during the reign of Charles II, these drawings provide a unique insight into the workings of Leonardo's mind and reflect the full range of his interests, including painting, sculpture, architecture, anatomy, engineering, cartography, geology and botany.

Queen's Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh EH8 8DX; tel: 0303 123 7306; website: https://scot.sh/vinci

***Walking with Birds: The Art of Audubon and MacGillivray*, until 21 February**

The friendship between a 19th-century Aberdeen professor, William MacGillivray, and the American naturalist and artist John James Audubon profoundly impacted the scientific study of birds.

Walking With Birds showcases Audubon's spectacular *Birds of America*, a metre-high book filled with Audubon's stunning life-size colour depictions of American bird species, with text prepared by MacGillivray. It explores the intrepid travels of both men, including MacGillivray's often humourous account of his epic journey on foot from Aberdeen to London, and their legacies in the worlds of zoology, ornithology and environmental conservation.

The exhibition explores a collaboration that had a profound impact on the study of birds

Sir Duncan Rice Library, University of Aberdeen, Bedford Road, Aberdeen AB24 3AA; tel: 01224 273048; website: https://scot.sh/birds

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EXHIBITION

***Darg and Drams*, until 26 January**

Darg and Drams showcases Scotland in a different light, documenting life behind the whisky and energy business. The project captures local proceedings of various aspects of the agricultural industry and charming immersions into Scottish folk, from the shipyards of Aberdeen to the barns of Speyside. Entry included within the price of admission to Duff house.

Duff house, Banff AB45 3SX; tel: 01261 818181; website: https://scot.sh/duff

WORKSHOP

Intermediate Irish Records, 8 February

Jill Williams takes us beyond the basic records for Irish genealogy to study church records, and land records including Griffith's Land Valuation and cancelled land valuation records. Runs 10am to noon. Booking essential, at: https://scot.sh/irish

Scottish Genealogy Society, 15 Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh EH1 2JL; tel: 0131 220 3677; website: www.scotsgenealogy.com

TALK

Memories: The Highland Museum of Childhood and its Collections, 20 February

Alison Boyle, curator at the Highland Museum of Childhood, presents a talk on the museum and its collections. Organised by Clyne Heritage. Starts 7.30pm.

Brora Community Centre, 5 Carrol Crescent, Brora KQ9 6PQ; website: www.clyneheritage.com

EXHIBITION

***Scotland's photograph album: The Mackinnon Collection*, until 16 February**

This exhibition celebrates an unparalleled collection of Scottish photography recently acquired and shared by the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland. The photographs were amassed by collector Murray MacKinnon and represent Scottish life and identity from the 1840s through the 1940s – a century of change and innovation.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1 Queen Street, Edinburgh EH2 1JD; tel: 0131 624 6200; website: https://scot.sh/kinnon

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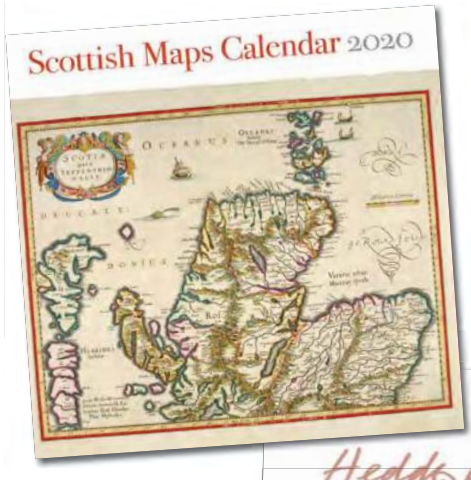

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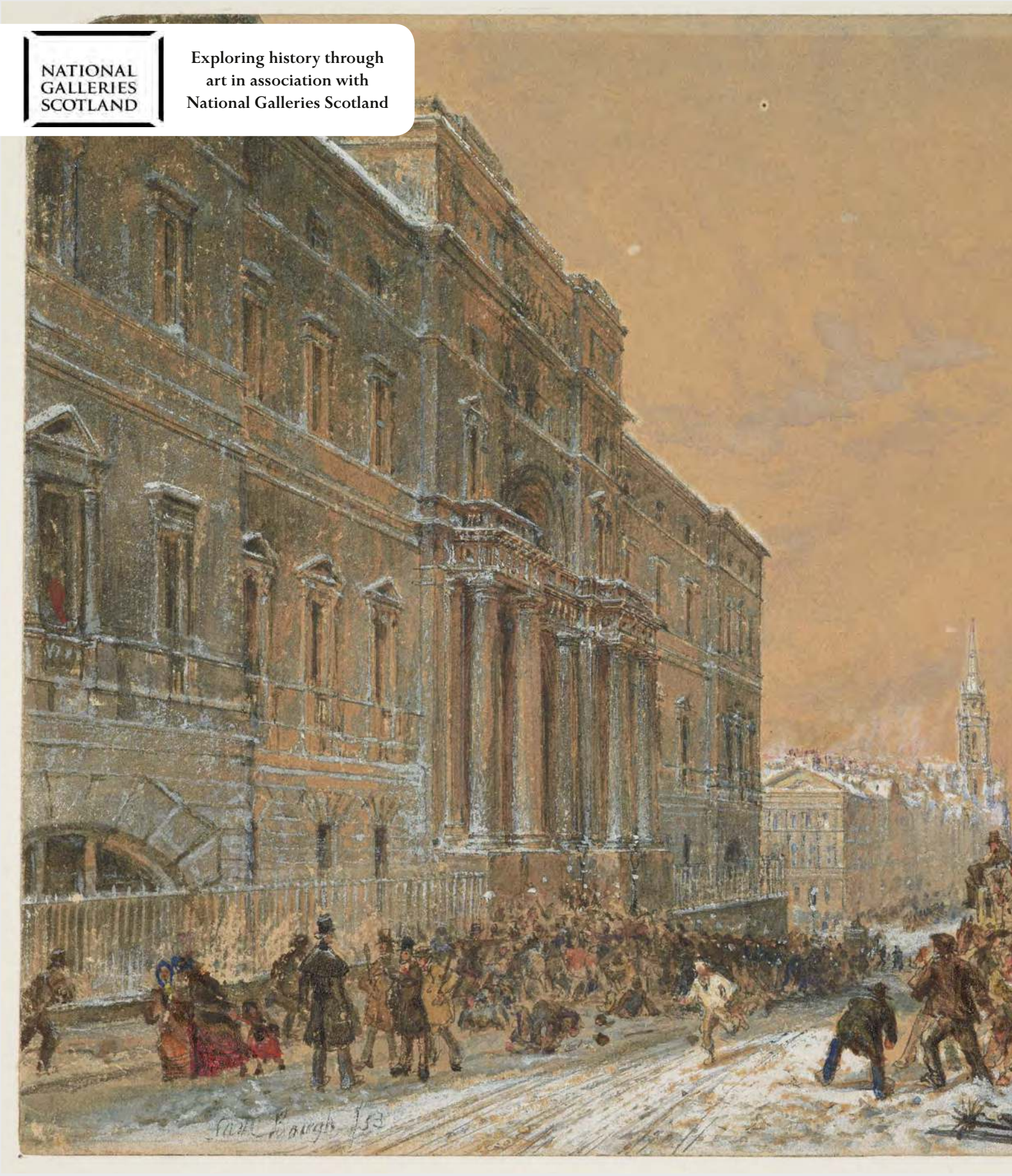


SNOWBALLING OUTSIDE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

Our seasonal work of art captures a group of students having a snowball fight outside the entrance of Edinburgh University, as townspeople hurry by and a shopkeeper boards up his doorway

This charming watercolour shows students having a snowball fight outside the main entrance to Edinburgh University. Established by James VI in 1583, Edinburgh University is the sixth oldest in Britain.

In 1789 Robert Adam supplied designs for a splendid new building with a grand central courtyard, but lack of finances and the architect's death resulted in a series of delays. The university was eventually completed in 1833 to modified designs supplied by William Henry Playfair.

On the left, the entrance to the university, with its great portico framed by six large columns, was the most dominant feature of Adam's original design. Bough has added subtle white highlights throughout to suggest the fine dusting of snow on the buildings.

THE ARTIST

Born in England, Samuel Bough (1822-78) became one of the most influential figures in the development of 19th-century Scottish landscape painting. A largely self-taught artist, he spent the early part of his career in Manchester and Glasgow, painting scenes for theatrical sets.

Bough later dedicated himself to landscape painting, and became adept at illustrating the fleeting effects of weather. This is especially clear in his paintings of Cadzow forest in south Lanarkshire.

He settled in Edinburgh in 1855, and was elected a member of the Royal Scottish Academy the following year. Bough enjoyed tremendous popularity as an artist. His views of rivers and ports of the 1850s and 1860s show his masterful combination of realism and expressive colouring to capture natural effects.

Bough's works include *Dysart Harbour* (1854), *Off St Andrews* (1856), *The Dreadnought from Greenwich Stairs: Sun Sinking into Vapour* (1861) and *Edinburgh Castle From Princes Street* (late 1860s).

THE PAINTING

Samuel Bough (1822-1878), Snowballing Outside Edinburgh University, 1853. Watercolour on paper (with rounded top corners), 18.40 x 22.40 cm. Collection: National Galleries of Scotland. Purchased 1928.

Treat a loved one this Christmas with art-inspired gifts and characters from the National Galleries of Scotland's favourite collection artworks: https://scot.sh/xmas

Spotlight on...

Selkirkshire Antiquarian Society

Selkirkshire Antiquarian Society was founded in Selkirk in 1947 to 'preserve the antiquities of the district and provide a meeting ground for like-minded people to enjoy and protect the exceptionally wide and fruitful field of historical, literary and archaeological lore which is available throughout the County'.

Right from the start and through to the present day, the society's members have been at the forefront of lively discussion and research in both celebrating and informing people about their history, literary achievements and local archaeology.

Many society members have written books, contributed articles to journals, made short films, been interviewed in the media, collected and curated archive material, created exhibitions, and assisted other groups in various projects.

Other members and visitors come along to listen to our monthly talks given by invited speakers and to enjoy the friendly atmosphere and shared interests. Whilst local knowledge is at the core of what we do, we have widened the range of our talks to include interesting subjects from further afield.

Selkirkshire is no longer a separate entity, having been absorbed into the administrative zone of the Scottish borders. However, the location of the former county has made it a witness – and sometimes a host – to historical events since before Roman times. Iron age forts abound, King David I hunted in Ettrick Forest and Selkirk once had an abbey and a royal castle. It has been a royal burgh since medieval times.

A generation of its men was lost at Flodden. James Graham, marquis of Montrose was defeated in Selkirk. Mungo Park grew up here and notable writers such as James Hogg and Andrew Lang were sons of Selkirkshire. Sir Walter Scott built Abbotsford and was sheriff depute of the county of Selkirk. In the 19th century Galashiels and later Selkirk grew into successful manufacturing towns for woollen cloth. Today, most of the mills have gone but the area continues to be both home and inspiration for diverse creative talent.

Given the above, it is no surprise that local people have a keen sense of history, a fund of stories and songs, and a unique sense of identity that is most passionately expressed in the local common ridings each year, and seasoned with a little inter-town rivalry.

Details of our prospectus can be found at: www.selkirkshireantiquariansociety.co.uk

Annual membership is £6 for eight well-attended talks (including tea and biscuits!) Non-members pay £2 per talk. You will be warmly welcomed, informed and entertained.

Emigrant ancestors

Have you come across ancestors who emigrated or served in countries such as South Africa or Zimbabwe? **Ken Nisbet** presents a range of online resources to help you find out more

Discover more about family history at: www.family-tree.co.uk the online home of Family Tree magazine

Whilst many Scots emigrated to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA, there were many other parts of the world to which Scots moved, including South Africa and Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia. So what sources can we look at to research our relatives who emigrated there?

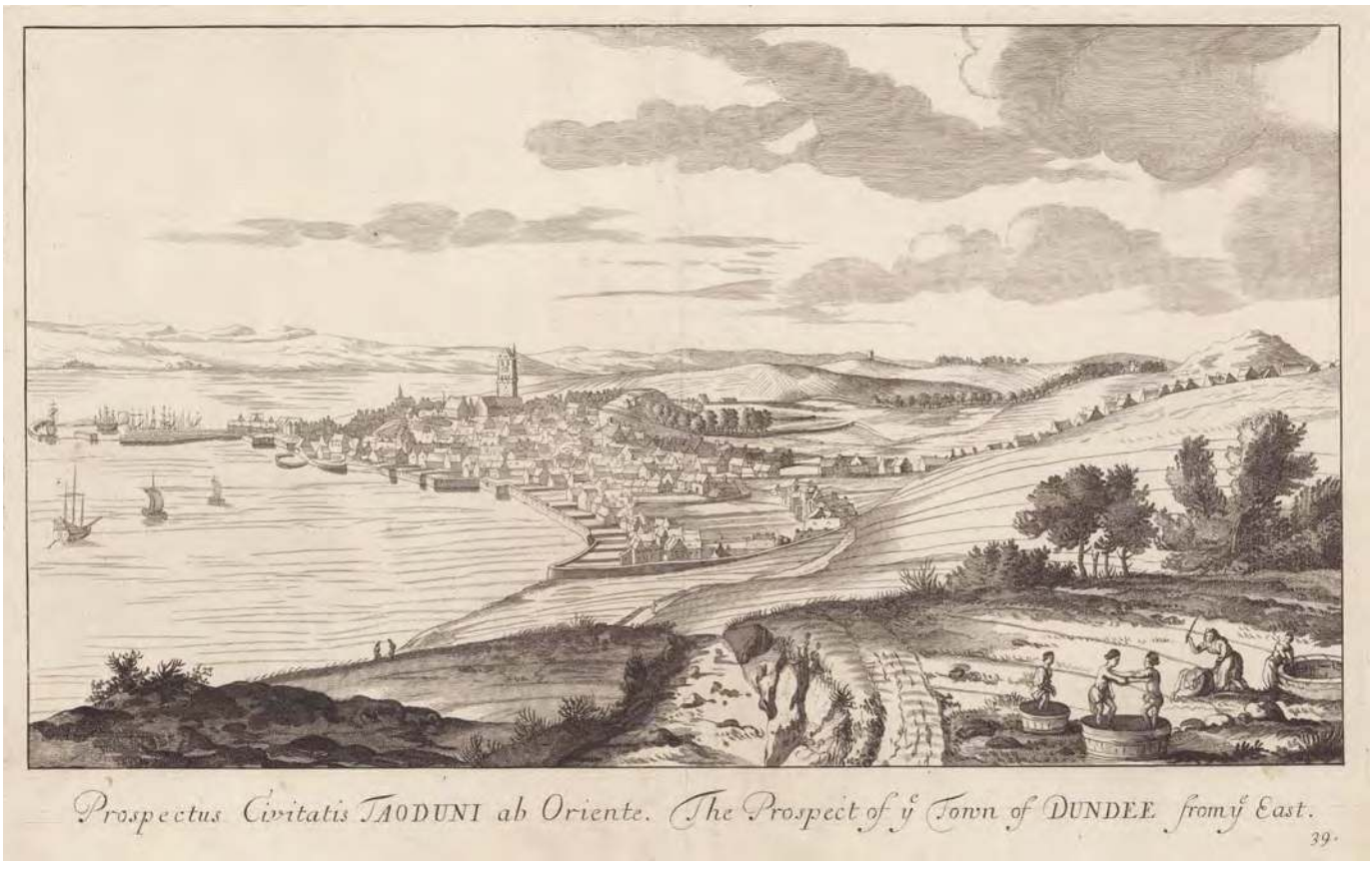
Both **Find my Past** and **Ancestry** have digital copies of the board of trade passenger lists from 1892 through to 1962. **The Scottish Genealogy Society** holds a full collection of the eight volumes listing British settlers in Natal from 1824 to 1857. A useful online site for settlers can be found here: https://scot.sh/settlers. With two wars against the Boers, and the Xhosa and Zulu wars of the 19th century, many men served with British army in South Africa. The medal rolls for the 2nd Boer war are on Ancestry and cover both the British army and locally-raised forces. An excellent free site to use is: **www.angloboerwar.com**. Find my Past is probably the best site for looking at service records once you have found where your relative served. Whilst Ancestry does have medal rolls covering the wars of the 19th century, there are also books like Roy Dutton's *Forgotten Heroes – Zulu and Basuto Wars Including Complete Medal Roll 1877-89*.

Another useful publication is Colonel A.S. Hickman's volume *Men who made Rhodesia* – a register of those who served in the British South Africa Company's police. Ancestry has the estate death index for the Cape Province 1834-1956, and the Transvaal 1855-1976 as well as the files for the Orange Free State 1951-2006 and Eastern Cape 1962-71. Most usefully **FamilySearch**: www.familysearch.org has digital copies of some of these historical files and also digital copies of natal deaths 1863-1955, marriages 1845-1955, Transvaal deaths 1869-1954 and marriages 1870-1930 and Zimbabwe death registers 1890-1977 and death notices 1904-76

Ken Nisbet is secretary of the Scottish Genealogy Society and of the Scottish Association of Family History Societies and is on the user group for the Family History Centre in Edinburgh. He is a regular lecturer to Scotland's family history societies. He has written a number of books, all of which are published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, and tutors some of the classes the society runs.

THE STORMING OF DUNDEE

Dr Annie Tindley presents a century-old archive record that explores the situation in Dundee centring around the town's storming by General George Monck, after which soldiers were quartered alongside the townspeople



On page 23 of this issue of *History Scotland*, we learned more about the fascinating episode of the storming of Dundee by General George Monck, acting on behalf of the English Commonwealth in 1651. Happily for those interested in learning more, exactly 100 years ago the Scottish History Society published important archival records from the aftermath of the action.

On 1 September 1651, the attack on Dundee began, with Monck's forces storming the town, a well-known Royalist stronghold which had refused to surrender. The bloody events of the days that followed are captured elsewhere, but the aftermath was as significant, as Monck endeavoured to reconcile the Dundonians – and the Scots generally – to their new rulers.

Part of that immediate process in Dundee was the formal regulation of relations between soldiers and civilians via the court martial, the records of which as transcribed and presented here constitute the only complete set of court martial records of the Puritan government anywhere.

Many of these highlight the daily lives and trials of both citizens and soldiers, including fairly minor infringements such as swearing and quarrelling, to more serious offences such as refusing to pay the costs of quartering soldiers or grand larceny. One of the striking aspects of the records is how they demonstrate a perhaps surprising degree of fairness to Dundonians and an implicit intention on the part of the court martial to protect the citizens from any harsh or oppressive rule.

The tales of military action, particularly where civilians are involved, are often moving and tragic; these records shine a light into the more neglected area of what happens after the heat of battle has passed and how legal, social and economic repairs are attempted.

Dundee Court Martial Records, 1651, G. Davies (ed.), in Third Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, series 2, volume 19 (1919). Read the full text at: https://scot.sh/storming

The Scottish History Society is the leading publisher of original sources relating to the history of Scotland. Founded in 1886, the Society has published over 170 volumes; taken together, these form a collection of great richness and variety illustrating the history of the nation as recorded by contemporaries. Membership is open to all and benefits include a free hard copy of our annual volume, and invitations to our events, including our AGM, Presidential Lecture and Publications Workshops. To join, please see: https://scot.sh/hsjoin. Our entire publications list has also been recently digitised in partnership with the National Library of Scotland. To access the digital edition for free, please see: https://scot.sh/hshs.

Annie Tindley is communications officer for the Scottish History Society and Senior Lecturer in History at Newcastle University.

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FINAL WORD

Following the publication of the Guide to Climate Change Impacts, created by a range of organisations across the heritage sector, Historic Environment Scotland's (HES) head of technical research and science **Ewan Hyslop**, talks to *History Scotland* about the challenges facing the historic environment, and what the future might hold

When did HES first become aware of climate change?

As an organisation we have a long history of care and maintenance of some of Scotland's most precious historic sites, and over the past decade we could see that something was not compatible with many of our historic structures. We noticed that problems of rainwater penetration and vegetation growth rates (moss, algae etc) were increasing. Ground conditions were becoming boggy in places, and paths more difficult to maintain.

Our suspicions were confirmed by climate data showing a shift in weather patterns over the previous decades, with increased levels of rainfall including milder, wetter winters, warmer summers and more extreme storm events.

We have had to raise our game and respond, firstly by increasing inspections and recording as well as the frequency of maintenance and repair work, but also through longer term solutions such as increasing investment in training in traditional skills such as stonemasonry, and research to improve our understanding of traditional materials.

Can you give us examples of the 'misguided interventions' from over the years mentioned in the plan?

Some approaches and techniques that might have been the right thing to do in previous decades may no longer be appropriate today. For example, cement mortar became widely used to repair buildings from the beginning of the early 20th century, but in many cases it is no longer the right material and is not compatible with traditional material such as sandstone. Traditional lime mortars are much more suited to traditional materials such as sandstone, and to our climate.

Some of our coastal sites are defended by engineering sea walls, some built many decades ago using reinforced concrete. With sea levels now rising at unprecedented rates, these require increasing maintenance.

At some sites we will need to take a different approach. We can't look at sites in isolation, as what we do in one place can have a negative effect on neighbouring areas.

Which is more of a threat to our historic environment - increased rainfall or rising temperatures?

Scotland has on average around 25 per cent more rainfall annually today than in the 1960s; in the north and west winter rainfall is 70 per cent higher in places; and we know that extreme rainfall events are increasing in intensity. We often refer to water as the 'engine of decay' – it speeds up weathering processes by accelerating reactions and physical erosion; it causes mould and fungal growth and rot; it penetrates into the cores of unroofed ruins like castles and can wash out the structural mortars; and of course there is flooding due to rainfall events. So rainfall is an immediate concern, but in Scotland it is something we are used to dealing with!

We don't know so much about the effects of increased temperatures – in a few years' time we will have significantly hotter, drier summers – we are not so used to that in Scotland! Decay is often related to extremes (e.g. from wet to dry, freeze to thaw, etc.) so things like rapid drying out are likely to be as much of a problem as saturation.

How can individuals and local communities get involved?

If you are interested in getting more involved in community projects related to the historic environment, then organisations such as Archaeology Scotland (Adopt a Monument scheme) and SCAPE (Scottish Coastal Archaeology) have voluntary schemes to involve communities in recording heritage that is under threat. At HES we have recently started a 'citizen science' project to allow visitors to our sites to record images and submit through a phone app – this is a trial and limited to only a few sites, but we hope to expand this in the future.

Read the plan at: https://scot.sh/guide

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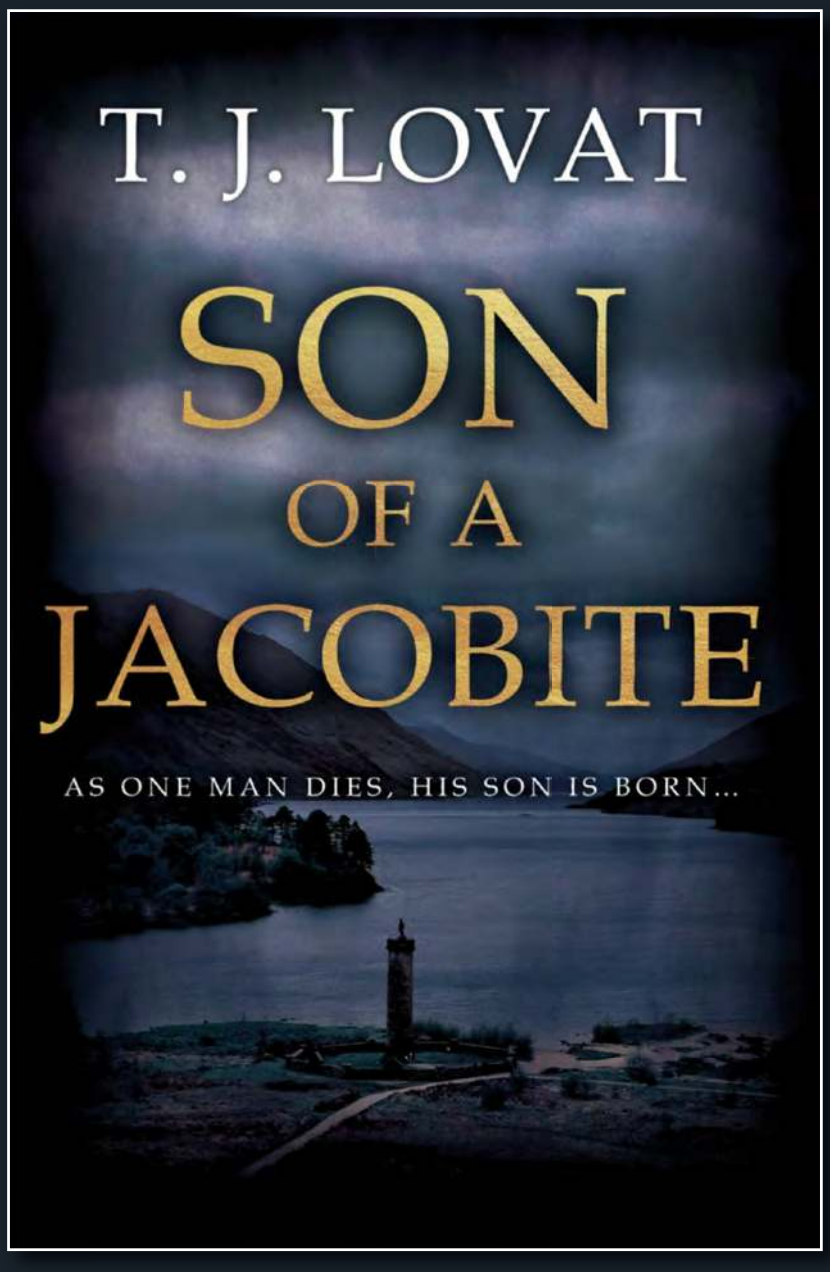

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The historical details … are interesting and sound and it will doubtless find willing readers among fans of works like Outlander and Into the Wilderness.
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It was great to read something different and there seems to be a hint near the end that there might be more to come from T.J Lovat … I can't wait to see what else he comes up with.
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History Scotland in 2020

A sneak peek at some of the fascinating topics we'll be covering in History Scotland during 2020. Flora's life and legacy.

Exclusive read

Dr Helen Scott, curator of the forthcoming Mary Cameron: Life in Paint exhibition at City Art Centre, Edinburgh, talks to History Scotland Insider about the artist's life, work and influences.

EXCLUSIVE

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